ROBERT DUVALL'S GEMS | GLASSMAN ON AMAZON | PATRIOT ARTISTS? | ECO-TERRORISTS

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE

POLITICS, BUSINESS, AND CULTURE

Our Nation

John Zogby
Dinesh D'Souza
Joel Kotkin
Charles Murray
Karlyn Bowman
Michael Cox
Allan Carlson
Ron Haskins
William Frey
& others

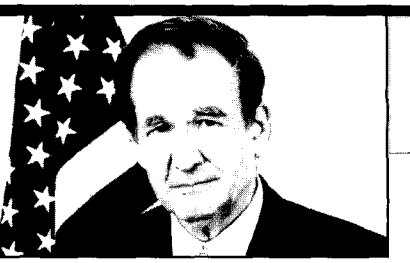
Display until 5/20/02 $4.95

0 74470 99065 9 04

www.TAEmag.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

APRIL/MAY 2002



You Can't Ignore Him. You *Can* Take Him On.

Pat Buchanan's book *The Death of the West: How Dying Populations and Immigrant Invasions Imperil Our Country and Civilization,* is near the top of the best-seller lists. Promoting his book on radio and television programs, his demographic pronouncements go almost unchallenged. In February, "Think Tank" aired a two-part program with Ben and Pat discussing immigration, broad demographic trends, the culture wars, and America's role in the world.

Then came the viewer mail about immigration — about ten times the normal response, revealing as much about the American condition as the dialogue itself. Because "Think Tank" prides itself on presenting issues in depth in a way that no other television program does, we are pleased to present for your edification, and as an eyesight test, a selection of the dialogue and the mail.

Excerpts from the program:

BUCHANAN: "There's not a single country in the Western world that has a birthrate that will enable it to survive in its present form through the twentieth century... as European peoples in the United States, Australia, Russia die out, these great migrations... are going to overwhelm the West, and you cannot expect non-Western peoples to preserve Western culture."

WATTENBERG: "I'm writing a book on this topic as well, as I have in the past. Yours is called 'The Death of the West' and mine is called 'Survival 101', tentatively, so there's a different view here."

BUCHANAN: "What is happening in the southwest United States is, they [Mexicans] are recapturing that part of America culturally and socially the same way we took Texas from them."

WATTENBERG: "Mexico and the rest of Latin America has as its 'padrones,' the hegemonic roots of those societies, the Catholic religion and the Spanish language or the Portuguese language. Last I heard Spain and Portugal are still part of Europe... What is your problem; is it pigment?"

BUCHANAN: "Well, no, no, they're of Indian descent."

WATTENBERG: "If you are looking to prevent the death of the West then you need numbers [from immigration.] Mexican-Americans serve disproportionately in the armed services and they have disproportionately won medals for courage and valor in combat."

WATTENBERG: "In the early part of this century, 1900 to 1910, each year America took in one percent of its population as new immigrants... The current rate, in the 1990s, counting illegals, is one third of one percent. In terms of this "swamping index" we were three times more swamped in 1900 to 1910 than we are today . . . By the third generation, 96 percent of Latin Americans, not just Mexicans, speak English."

BUCHANAN: "Ben, the President of Mexico walks into our country and says, to audiences, 'You are Mexicans who live north of the border.' Why doesn't the President of the United States say, 'Get out of this country with that kind of language. These are our citizens.'"

PBS **THINK TANK: THE PBS PROGRAM ON IDEAS** Pfizer

Support for **THINK TANK** is provided by Pfizer Inc., The Smith Richardson Foundation, the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, the John M. Olin Foundation, and the Bernard & Irene Schwartz Foundation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Excerpts from viewer mail:

I am an immigrant myself and I cannot be prejudiced in any way but I immigrated to the United States and not to China or Mexico. Immigration has to be controlled and balanced so we do not loose our American heritage and the American way of life.

[The problem] is the current tendency of the various ethnic immigrant groups to constitute another interest group -- pursuing their ethnic "rights," privileges and entitlements.

I support Buchanan. The USA is like a lifeboat. If a lifeboat can only carry 12 people and a 13th person swims up to the boat and asks to come aboard, adding that 13th person will cause the boat to sink and then all aboard will perish.

I was an Afghan, now I am an American, but not an Afghan-American. I'd really like to know, if someone comes in your house without your permission and you do not know him or her, you would let the person stay in your house? Do you let in only the people you invite? We should have the control of our beautiful house, America

. . . drive out to Northern Virginia to see the real results of unrestricted immigration. Whole towns where I grew up now look like they were transplanted from overseas. Mobs of Mexican and Guatemalan men congregate outside the 7-11s hoping for day labor, generating mountains of garbage that spill into the road, frightening away women and children. . .

I have never agreed with Pat Buchannan on anything but I think he has this situation right. You do not have illegal immigrants making your life harder because they take up all the jobs you could get. No illegals are going to replace you on TV. Most of the people here in the Southwest do not work in the media. You need to come out here and watch all the illegal immigrants coming down your streets, stealing your cars, bringing drugs across the border and basically ruining the quality of life for the working class.

To err on the side of caution and protection of America as we now know it is pure common sense. To do anything else and be wrong will doom America because if Buchanan's analysis turns out to be correct, by the time we are sure -- the camel's nose will be in the tent, as well as the rest of his ugly self. Thanks for such thoughtful and thought – provoking programs.

Pat Buchanan is perfectly right. Our immigration policies are designed to cater to the interests of campaign donors.

Buchanan is on the right track. Before I retired I was in the Human Resources field and experienced first hand the impact of illegal immigration.... I am a Hispanic and I feel for them, but there is only so much that we, as Americans, can do. Why are we footing the bill for the Mexican Government?

Due to America's consumption mania, would it not be an environmental mistake for this country and the world to have 400 million of us by 2050?

Buchanan tries so hard to couch his racism in 'reasonable terms.' On what planet does he live? Hasn't he gotten the picture yet, that the greatest strength of the United States is its diversity? Why isn't he talking about all of the Anglo type folks who come here on student visas and stay illegally? Why is he so afraid of color?

I've always found Think Tank to be insightful, as well as profound. But tonight's shoot-out between Ben & Pat Buchanan was terrific. I've seen Buchanan interviewed on several other shows re: his book *Death of the West*, but none of them challenged him as well as was done on this show.

I work as a Spanish-English interpreter... A common situation in my work is a father came to the U.S. as a kid with no formal schooling ..... the kids then become bilingual, and the grandkids grow up with their heroes being the likes of Michael Jordan, Schwarzenegger and Schwarzkopf, and they think no more about being "Mexican" than I do about being of German descent, except when Anglos remind them.

Pat Buchanan was a joke before and now he is verging on being dangerous. He just uses his racist views to fund his next run in politics. I am a Hispanic and our family was here before Texas became a state. If Hispanics remained in the shadows and quietly worked in the homes of affluent white people with no rights and no right to any services in this county, the immigrant issue would not be the flag he would wave.

I was disgusted and horrified by Buchanan. He is not only a vicious racist against Mexicans, he is also an opportunistic politician who knows how to fuel people's fears.

I am that stereotypical Mexican he speaks of. I came to the States with my family when I was 15 without knowing English. I am a US citizen by choice, giving up my Mexican citizenship in the process. It is people like Pat Buchanan who force people like me into defending parts of ourselves of which we are proud of. Every time he attacks me for being Mexican something in me gets enraged and my pride in being Mexican grows.

I am a fourteen year old Mexican-American girl. Pat had many discouraging comments about immigrants. What about the good things immigrants have contributed to the US?

What is "Western Civilization"? According to Pat Buchanan, it is the color of the person's skin. The only thing he repeats relates to the race and related ethnicity of the European people. To me, Western Civilization is not dying, it is thriving. . . One has to look no further than on the effect of Valentine's Day and Christmas in most of the world to know that these traditionally "Western" celebrations are now the norm of the world.

In my humble opinion, Ben Wattenberg is the best thinker and communicator on the American Scene. Mr. Wattenberg's interview with Pat Buchanan was as good as television ever gets. I wish the mavens of Scream TV had been watching and taking notes. This is an extremely important topic, and most journalists do not have the intellectual courage that's needed to do it justice. The conversation between Wattenberg and Buchanan positively crackled and sparkled.

You are absolutely right in your conclusion that what he fears is skin color. It is clear that [Buchanan] believes that culture is transmitted through melanin and that non-Europeans are incapable of becoming Americans. I consider myself typical of those Mexican-Americans you spoke of. I was born in Los Angeles in the 30's of a Mexican-American father and mother. Together, they had had eight years of schooling. They raised their melanized children during tough times, teaching them self discipline and giving them a work ethic. I served in the US Army during the Korean War and with the help of the GI Bill got an education, graduating from UCLA Phi Beta Kappa, earning an MA and then a law degree, at night. I am an American. My three sons all graduated from the university and they, too, are Americans.

PBS

THINK TANK:
THE PBS PROGRAM ON IDEAS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE
POLITICS, BUSINESS, AND CULTURE

APRIL/MAY 2002 VOL. 13, NO. 3

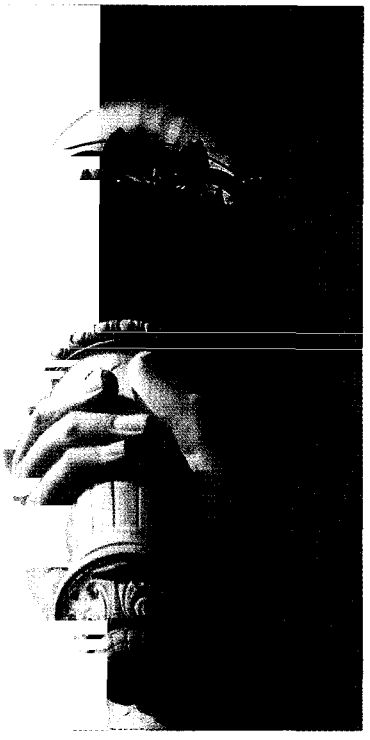
4 BIRD'S EYE ◆ *Karl Zinsmeister*
Checking America's vital signs.

7 SIDELIGHTS
Bombs away. Down and out in the U.K. and Ireland. Chickens at Ground Zero. Federally funded tattoo removal. Booby Fischer. Mislaid at the IRS.

8 SCAN ◆ Short news and commentary
New farm bill is a disaster. Iraq's (improved) version of the Northern Alliance. The simple way to fix airport screening. Media blackout on gun heroes. Why coffee is un-P.C. Eco-fraud by scientists. TV-free and thriving.

14 FORWARD OBSERVER ◆ *James Glassman*
There's a silver lining to the Wall Street tech wreck.

16 "LIVE" WITH *TAE*
Red-hot pollster *John Zogby*, whose maverick calls of political races have put competing prognosticators to shame in recent years, is a liberal with a knack for spotting conservative electoral strengths that other trendwatchers overlook.



PAGE 22

22 WHAT'S SO GREAT ABOUT AMERICA?
Dinesh D'Souza
The extraordinary successes of America impress immigrants like the author. Credit our founding fathers who solved some of civilization's stickiest problems—like how to avoid tribal and religious conflict, and how to overcome economic scarcity.

26 A CONSERVATIVE RESURGENCE IN U.S. RELIGION
A backlash in the church of Hillary Clinton and George W. Bush is shifting its center of gravity away from her wing and toward his, reports *Richard Cimino.* Judaism is likewise being transformed by a movement against theological laxity, notes *Jeff Jacoby. Blake Hurst* provides an update on the Southern Baptists, one of the first denominations to turn back toward religious traditionalism.

30 THE STATE OF THE NATION
Joel Kotkin, W. Michael Cox, Allan Carlson, Charles Murray, Karlyn Bowman, Ken Von Kohorn, Ron Haskins, David Murray, William Frey
Our experts use recent census results and other data to peer deeply into American society and assess the country's long-term health.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PAGE 26

44 **TRANSCRIPT** ◇ Words worth repeating
Poet *Frederick Turner* urges American artists and intellectuals to be as active in acknowledging America's mighty strengths as they are in identifying her flaws.

46 **IN REAL LIFE** ◇ First-person America
For lots of folks in mid-life, "Howdja sleep last night?" is a sensitive subject.

48 **TERROR WATCH**
Setting bombs. Lighting fires. Sabotaging work sites. It's called eco-terrorism, and the home-grown perpetrators are in our midst.

50 **FLASHBACK** ◇ *Bill Kauffman*
Shooting down Mother's Day.

51 **NOW PLAYING** ◇ *Josh Larsen*
The sweet French film *Amélie* isn't politically correct enough for elites.

52 **BOOKTALK**
◇ Edward E. Ericson, Jr.—*Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn: The Ascent From Ideology* by Daniel J. Mahoney
◇ Jamie Glazov—*The New Intifada: Resisting Israel's Apartheid* edited by Roane Carey
◇ Clark Stooksbury—*Bad Bet on the Bayou: The Rise of Gambling in Louisiana and the Fall of Governor Edwin Edwards* by Tyler Bridges

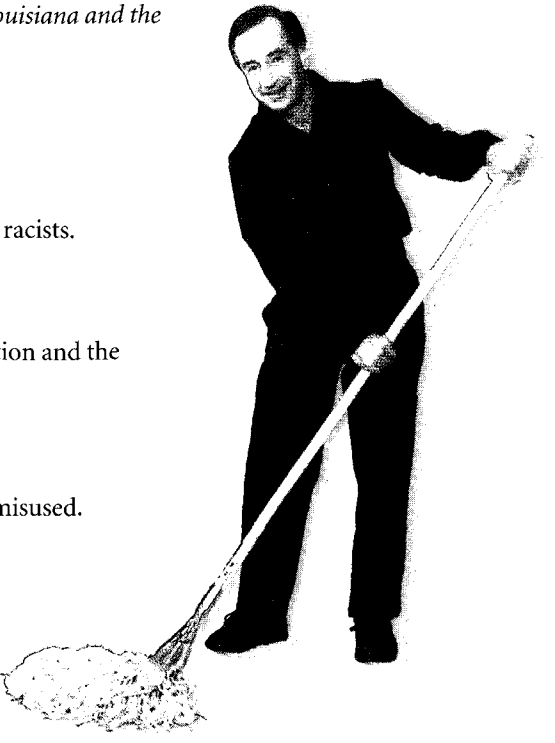
55 **HOLLYWOOD REPORT** ◇ *John Meroney*
Robert Duvall is busy polishing several sparkling new films.

56 **THE DIGEST** ◇ Summaries of important research
Dairy regulation is clear as milk. Free trade is its own reward. You're all racists. Trial lawyers get ready to pounce again. Genes, race, and illness.

59 **OPINION PULSE** ◇ The latest survey data
Racial progress on many fronts: Income. Housing. Education. Satisfaction and the American Dream across the color divide.

62 **THE MAIL**
An immigration time-out? Knowing what's moral.
Red America is a state of mind—and a good one. David Brooks feels misused.

64 **LAST GASP**



PAGE 41

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE
POLITICS, BUSINESS, AND CULTURE

April/May 2002 Vol. 13, No. 3

Publisher Christopher DeMuth
Editor in Chief Karl Zinsmeister
Senior Editors Eli Lehrer
Karina Rollins
Associate Editors Brandon Bosworth
Bill Kauffman
John Meroney
Martin Morse Wooster
Opinion Pulse Editor Karlyn Bowman
Art Director Jo Roback-Pal
Graphic Designer Jeanne Berger
Proofreaders David Brandt
Ann Zinsmeister
Interns Anne Beaumont
Michael Kasow
Ari Moskowitz
Web Designers Karen Zolkiewicz
Kumber Husain
Business Manager Garth Cadiz
Chief of Operations David Gerson
Contributing Writers Edward Ericson, James Glassman, Jonah Goldberg, Kevin Hassett, Blake Hurst, Joel Kotkin, Philip Langdon, Daniel Lapin, Josh Larsen, Catesby Leigh, George Liebmann, Deroy Murdock, Ralph Reiland, Naomi Schaefer, Ben Stein, Frederick Turner, Scott Walter, Ray Wisher

Web Site
www.TAEmag.com

Letters to the Editor
"The Mail," The American Enterprise,
1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036,
or fax (202) 862-5867, or e-mail TAE@aei.org

Main Editorial and Production Office
The American Enterprise
1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 862-5887, or e-mail TAE@aei.org

Office of the Editor in Chief
The American Enterprise
23 Hurd Street, Cazenovia, N.Y. 13035
(315) 655-1033

Manuscripts
The editors welcome article submissions.
Send to TAE@aei.org or "Submissions" at
Washington, D.C. mailing address.

Back Issues
Send $6 per copy to The American Enterprise,
109 Briarcliffe Road, Dewitt, New York 13214.
(Add $5 per copy for foreign delivery.)

Subscriptions
New or Problems: (888) 295-9007. $28 for one year.
Add $30 per year for foreign delivery.

Postmaster: Send all subscription correspondence and address changes to The American Enterprise, P.O. Box 7144, Bensenville, IL 60106-7144. ISSN 1047-3572. Published eight times per year (J/F, M, A/M, J, J/A, S, O/N, D) by the American Enterprise Institute, 1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Periodicals postage paid at Washington, D.C., and additional mailing offices. Copyright © 2002, the American Enterprise Institute. All rights reserved.

Bird's Eye

Karl Zinsmeister

Checking America's Vital Signs

The federal government spent $6.5 billion conducting the 2000 census. That's $56 per American home, and twice what was spent to conduct the 1990 census. An audacious sum for a statistical exercise, no matter how you look at it. I suggest less costly methods should be planned for the 2010 census.

Meantime, a mighty mound of numbers detailing the national condition has chugged out of the Census Bureau computers over the last six months, complementing heaps of data gathered by private organizations and companies, as well as other government agencies. We decided to mine that statistical rockpile for an issue of *The American Enterprise.* In the pages that follow, we assess the health of our families, our economy, and our communities the way a doctor judges a patient's status by taking his pulse, his blood pressure, his weight-to-height ratio, his cholesterol levels. America, it's clear, is going to live. As for just how well, you'll have to read the stories and judge for yourself.

As a kind of warm-up, let me give you a few samples of the sorts of things the demographic and economic numbers reveal to be happening in the USA at present. I'll sort them loosely into three categories: the Dramatic, the Downbeat, and the Welcome.

The Dramatic

The single most dramatic finding of the recent census was the huge influx of new arrivals into the United States during the last decade. Fully one out of every nine people now living in our land was born in some other country. Our foreign-origin population zoomed from 19.8 million in 1990 to 31.1 million in 2000.

The more than 13 million new immigrants who arrived on our shores over the last ten years were a greater number than anyone expected, and well above the 8.7 million who arrived during the 1980s. Most of them were legal entrants, but a significant number were not: Census 2000 showed 8 million illegal aliens living in the U.S., a serious problem that the nation needs to address.

America's foreign born are particularly concentrated in certain areas. In New York City, for instance, four out of ten residents started their lives in another country. Even more startling is that 40 percent of all the residents of California, by far our most populous state, now speak a language other than English at home. (For most of them it's Spanish.) Nationwide, the fraction of Americans who use a foreign language at home is well over one out of six.

Another of today's dramatic numerical realities is the razor's-edge partisan and political balance that emerged after the last election. Let's review the rather incredible numbers: National balloting for candidates to the House of Representatives was split 49 percent for the Republicans, 49 percent for the Democrats. If you total all the U.S. Senate races, the GOP won 50 percent of the vote to 49 percent for the Democrats. Of course the Presidential race was split 48 percent to 48 percent.

Astonishingly, the state races were just as close. There were 11 governor's races in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the last election; if you put them together, the Republicans won 50 percent of all the votes cast, to 49 percent for the Democrats. Currently, the GOP controls 17 state legislatures, the Dems 16. (Others are shared.) There are actually several state legislative chambers that are *exactly* balanced in seats, as the U.S. Senate was until James Jeffords changed his colors. A partisan parity this precise may never have existed before in our country, and we're unlikely to see it again in our lifetimes.

The proportion of American children living in traditional families (that is, with both of their biological parents) rose 10 percent over five years.

The Downbeat

It's possible that one effect of hung legislatures is to exempt either party from ultimate accountability. Whether for that reason or simply because the Democrats retook the Senate in 2001 after nearly seven years of Republican control of Congress, the reality is that federal spending has recently begun racing upward. This was true well before September 11. The 2001 jump in federal outlays, measured as a percentage of our total economy, was the largest since the 1970s.

This year's $190 billion spree is making federal budget surpluses go away fast. Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle, of course, had a different interpretation, saying in a January speech that "September 11 and the war aren't the only reasons the surplus is nearly gone. They're not even the biggest reasons. The biggest reason is the tax cut."

To test Daschle's contention, the Tax Foundation recently published a study of the relevant numbers (www.taxfoundation.org/nosurplus.html). Their findings: President Bush's tax cut caused an 11 percent reduction in the 2002 surplus. Spending increases evaporated 16 percent of the expected surplus. The remaining 73 percent of the reduction came from the recession and some technical factors that had caused the Congressional Budget Office to overestimate the surplus in the first place. Now, in wartime, both Republicans and Democrats are racing to throw even more logs on the federal spending pyre. This would be a very good time for taxpayers to locate their wallets and hold tight.

Another downbeat development in recent American social life has been family decay. The problem flared up in the 1960s, accelerated through the 1990s, then very recently leveled off. The worst among several ugly family trends has been the surge in births to unmarried mothers—all the way to today's scary level of one out of every three new arrivals. Out-of-wedlock births wound children, impoverish mothers, untether men from the grounding influences of family life, and damage society by pushing things like test scores, income levels, crime rates, and drug use in all the wrong directions.

In his contribution to our "State of the Nation" section, Charles Murray unravels some complicated data and shows that family failures of various sorts are the primary factor creating unequal outcomes among young Americans today. Liberationists "must recognize that in the last 40 years we have done more than modify a few sexual mores and social customs. We have set in motion a variety of forces that will have devastating effects primarily on the lower half of American society," Murray writes.

The Welcome

That's the unhappy news; there were also many more welcome developments over the last decade. In any grand, sprawling cacophony like America there is going to be an intermingling of trends positive and negative. If you step back and look at our country over time, though, bracing progress tends to be the dominant result.

There is certainly much to be encouraged by today. Even in family life, which has been America's Achilles heel since the 1960s, some auspicious turnarounds now seem to be under way. Illegitimacy has levelled off, divorce has actually fallen, and marriage seems to be reviving as a solution to both of these ills.

As a result, the traditional two-parent family has started to enjoy something of a comeback. A recent Census Bureau study found that the proportion of children living with both of their biological parents rose 10 percent over the latest five years. If you add in adoptive and stepparents, the fraction of all U.S. kids under 18 who live with two parents has now rebounded to 71 percent. Even among blacks, where family meltdown has been most severe over the last generation, the proportion of children living with married parents increased by more than 10 percent between 1995 and 2000.

A good part of this can be credited to welfare reform. Keep in mind that when the fight was on to get the Welfare Reform Act of 1996 through Congress, *The New Republic* howled that "families will fracture." Richard Gephardt insisted "more than one million children will be forced into poverty because of this bill." Pat Moynihan warned that "those involved will take this disgrace to their graves." Tom Daschle called the measure "extremist." They were utterly wrong. The welfare reform bill is up for renewal this year, and deserves to be strengthened further.

There remains much damage to repair (black kids living with married parents are still only four out of every ten). Just the same, recent declines in single parenthood have to be considered healthy and welcome news. Many husbands and wives raising kids will agree with me that even *two* parents often feels like too few to get the job done right. So let's encourage the return to traditional family structures wherever possible.

In other areas as well, data tidbits are popping up that signal

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a strengthening of family ties. For instance, women are having more children. In 2000, the U.S. fertility rate hit its highest level since 1971 (an average of 2.1 lifetime births per woman).

Interestingly, families are also taking steps to increase the *quality* of childhood. For the last 25 years, the proportion of new mothers concentrating solely on their baby in its first year of life has been falling, falling, falling. In 2000 that reversed: Among mothers with an infant under one, the *percentage pursuing paid work declined*—for the first time in a generation. More mothers are opting to give their children their full attention at home (which is the greatest gift any young child can receive).

A second indicator of American social revival over the last decade is religion. Membership in religious congregations is swelling across the U.S. This in turn is fueling a multimillion-dollar church construction boom. In 2000, according to the Census Bureau, religious institutions spent nearly $8 billion on construction projects—a $500 million increase from the previous year. Moreover, there is a pronounced shift under way in America toward more rigorous, serious, and demanding varieties of religion. See the interesting trio of articles by Richard Cimino, Jeff Jacoby, and Blake Hurst starting on page 26.

Yet another sign that Americans are growing up and settling down is evidence from the 2000 census that we are becoming more responsible and loyal members of our local communities. "I like to see a man proud of the place in which he lives. I like to see a man live so that his place will be proud of him," Abraham Lincoln once said. This is difficult, though, if people are constantly flitting to different locations—as has been the American pattern since World War II.

The last census, however, showed a significant reduction, compared to earlier decades, in the number of opportunistic household moves that Americans made to trendy new locales. Employers are now reporting that it's much easier than in times past to recruit talented workers to small cities and towns and previously bypassed states. This seems to be because people are seeking more rooted and family-friendly community lives. Joel Kotkin opens our "State of the Nation" feature with reporting on this trend, and William Frey discusses a related phenomenon in his piece closing the collection.

Sociologists have been telling us recently that when it comes to making people happy and well-adjusted, money and career status are often less important than what they (awkwardly) call "social capital"—the efficiency, warmth, cohesiveness, safety, and friendliness of the people and institutions in one's home town. "People are looking for a better way of life," says Greg Moran, president of an upstate New York technology firm. Factors like close-knit neighborhoods, strong churches, healthy small businesses, modest commutes, and manageable-size schools will often contribute more to the good life than the flashy amenities of boom towns.

Doubting the long-term health of the USA is, quite simply, a dumb bet.

Studies over the last decade have helped quantify this by measuring things like levels of volunteerism, numbers of close friends, charitable giving, and neighborly support—where small communities and closer-knit cities stack up very well. But ultimately this is a matter of common sense. "Everyone knows that Archimedes said, 'Give me a lever long enough, and I shall move the earth.' What they sometimes forget is that Archimedes said he needed not just a lever but 'a place to stand.' Without a place to stand—a family, a neighborhood, a people and its language—we move nothing, we do nothing, we are nothing," Thomas Fleming has written. "The first task of a moral human being is not to play the stranger to our friends and judge the world as if we were gods; our obligation is—to use the language of Martin Luther and the Nashville Agrarians—to take our stand." That, Americans seem to be concluding in growing numbers, means putting down local roots.

Amidst the often-grim headlines of America's big-city newspapers, it is easy to miss the happier tidings outlined above (or the successes described by Dinesh D'Souza in his article "What's So Great About America?" later in these pages). Don't let the clangor of normal daily criticism skew your view of our nation's overall condition. Human nature is as fallen in America as anywhere else, and our country has plenty of stark problems in need of repair. But we have a remarkable society which helps us recognize our own weaknesses and then make corrections.

Doubting the long-term health of the USA is, quite simply, a dumb bet. God bless her.

Please Write

We welcome comments of all sorts in letters to the editor. Send to TAE@aei.org or "The Mail," *The American Enterprise*, 1150 Seventeenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Or fax to (202) 862-5867. Please include your address.

All letters receive our careful consideration, and many will be published (unless you tell us your comments are not for attribution). Letters may be edited for length and clarity.

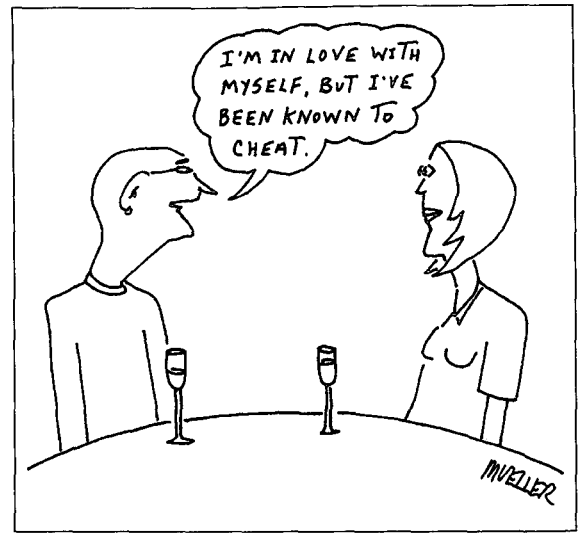
We look forward to hearing from you.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sidelights

Sixty-four percent of Palestinians support suicide bomb attacks against Israel, according to a poll by the Jerusalem Media and Communications Center. ··· Forty percent of British Muslims think Osama bin Laden's war against America is justified, according to a *London Times* poll. The same number believe Britons who fight with the Taliban are justified in doing so. ❧ Three fourths of homosexuals and bisexuals feel more accepted by society than they did a few years ago, according to a Kaiser Family Foundation poll. ··· Two girls will be listed as "class sweethearts" in a Dover, New Hampshire high school yearbook. ❧ Nearly 6 million Poles, making up 40 percent of the Polish work force, want to live and work abroad, states a report published by Pricewaterhouse-Coopers. ··· The United Kingdom and Ireland have the highest rates of depression in Europe, declares a British psychiatric journal. Spain has the lowest. ❧ A new Maryland law will require gun buyers to watch a two-hour film on gun safety before buying a firearm.

Karen Davis, president of the animal-rights group United Poultry Concerns, wrote that it is "speciesist to think that the September 11 attack on the World Trade Center was a greater tragedy than what millions of chickens endured that day, and what they endure every day because they cannot defend themselves against the concerted human appetites arrayed against them." ❧ Robert F. Kennedy, Jr. described corporate pork production as a threat "greater than that in Afghanistan. This is not only a threat to the environment, it is a threat to the American economy and democracy." ❧ Representative Lois Capps, California Democrat, has secured $50,000 in federal funds for the Liberty Tattoo Removal Program of San Luis Obispo County. She defended the move by observing that "people with tattoos often find themselves being unfairly stereotyped in a way that makes it difficult to find employment or be promoted to higher, better paying positions." ❧ Matt Stone and Trey Parker, creators of the cartoon "South Park," told a convention of the left-wing People for the American Way that they're "proud Republicans." ❧ According to the *Daily Telegraph*, former chess champion Bobby Fischer described the World Trade Center attack as "wonderful news. It is time to finish off the U.S. once and for all." ❧ Fifty-nine-year-old Madalenna Lai, who came to America in 1977 as a Vietnamese refugee, sold her house to raise $100,000 to build a float for the Tournament of Roses Parade. It carried the message "Thank you America and the world." ❧ The IRS lost more than 2,300 laptop and desktop computers and servers over three years, according to a report by the Treasury Department. ❧ Italian president Silvio Berlusconi told the European Union: "Nobody, I repeat nobody, can think they can put us under their control or, worse still, treat us as a subject with limited sovereignty." ··· Under EU pressure, Denmark is giving up its ban on canned beer and other drinks.



Three out of four African Americans approve of President Bush's performance since 9/11, according to a *New York Times*/CBS News poll. ❧ Maryland's Commission on Indian Affairs is working to ban use of the words Indians, Warriors, and Braves as names for public school sports teams. "What next?" wonders Montgomery County Council member Nancy Dacek. "I don't want to see the day when our sports teams are...called the 'Daisies' and the 'Snow-persons.'" ❧ The Sled Dog Action Coalition of Miami condemned the Disney film *Snow Dogs*. "They are brainwashing children into believing that this dogsled racing is wonderful and the dogs love it," said the coalition's director, Margery Glickman. "They're hiding all the harsh realities that the dogs face. The movie is very deceptive." ❧ Mark Brewer, Michigan's Democratic chairman, explained his party's appeal to gun owners: "What unifies us tends to be the economic issues. I tell people, 'If you don't have a job, you can't afford a gun, let alone the ammunition.' We're a very diverse party." ❧ A Japanese sanitation worker was arrested for threatening a bar owner with a knife because he refused to separate his trash for recycling.

—BB

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Scan

© Tampa Tribune/Wayne Stayskal

BITTER HARVEST AHEAD

The multi-year farm bill grinding its way through Congress has shaped up as a disaster. It will sock taxpayers for $170 billion, and then cost consumers and farmers many billions more. The only people winning in the long run will be politicians manipulating new and expanded government subsidies to dazzle and bribe farm-state voters into re-electing them. But the bills will come due.

Last month, Kraft Foods announced that Life Savers candies, a 90-year-old American icon, will no longer be made in the U.S. The Michigan plant is being closed, and production shifted to Montreal. Why? Because U.S. farm programs *double* the price of U.S. sugar. Federally price-supported sugar is "at least twice as expensive as on the world market," notes Kraft spokeswoman Claire Regan. Just by moving to Canada, the cost of the main ingredient in Life Savers will drop by $10 million per year.

Hershey laid off 1,000 employees and closed plants in Colorado and Pennsylvania last year. Brach's recently announced it will close its flagship Chicago plant and move 1,100 jobs to Mexico (where, as in Canada, sugar can be bought at the world market price). "I just got tired of paying welfare to Big Sugar," another candymaker sighed to the *Wall Street Journal* after transferring a plant from Georgia to Mexico. Many candy companies that have continued to buy sugar at U.S. prices are now going bust.

This is just one example of a long roster of economic damage wrought by government attempts to prop up farm prices artificially. A decade or so ago, the feds essentially subsidized the launch of massive new overseas competition for American's valuable soybean industry. U.S. farm programs created shortages and higher than natural prices, which made it profitable for Brazilians and Argentinians to cut down forests and plow up pastures in order to plant beans. Now they are permanent competitors who have stolen a big chunk of our international franchise.

Other farm programs turn away customers. In New York state, a program aimed at creating healthier student diets by installing vending machines in schools that dispense milk and flavored milk drinks is hampered by the fact that at $1 per vend, the price-supported milk is too expensive to compete well with soft drinks.

The Dairy Compact that Jim Jeffords and his allies in the U.S. Senate pushed through a few years ago cost milk drinkers in the affected six small states an extra $165 million over three-plus years, according to the Consumer Federation of America. It also depressed farm income in nearby dairy states. Were the compact expanded to 26 states across the nation, as backers demand, it would drain U.S. consumers of $2 billion per year in higher milk bills. That would depress sales of milk, ice cream, and cheese, damaging farmers as well as shoppers.

Farm subsidies also incite a kind of arms race with other nations. By pouring $49 billion into farm spending in 2000, the U.S. encouraged the European Union to spend nearly twice as much ($90 billion) to "protect" its farmers. So instead of being able to sell grain and meat to the Europeans at market prices, American farmers are locked out of potential export markets by a spiraling domestic subsidy competition among nations—which Americans feed each time they increase welfare payments to their farmers.

And once in the air, the subsidy bug has a nasty tendency to spread. Fruit and vegetable growers traditionally produced without government support, but politicians like Hillary Clinton have recently succeeded in channeling funds to apple growers. Now other farmers are clamoring for their own programs. When *TAE* editors were in Alaska last year researching energy stories, we were startled to learn that 14 local reindeer herders had received $169,000 in federal agricultural aid over the previous two years. What's next, backyard bunny-hutch subsidies?

Government farm bills have also started turning into Christmas trees for environmental activists. Greens are convincing Democrats to attach items mandating land retirement, wetland re-creation, and other eco-demands. Agriculturalists may come to regret such trades.

Too bad the farmers seeking fatter checks aren't thinking of the long-term effects—because they're planting economic poison ivy.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IRAQI PARTNERS?

The American Enterprise Institute recently hosted a discussion with five of the six top leaders of the Iraqi National Congress, the main opposition group and potential alternative to Saddam Hussein's reign of terror.

The INC members began by noting that the majority of Iraqis are not supporters of the current government; they are oppressed by it. "Saddam Hussein's regime is one of the worst in history, and the Iraqi people have not stopped struggling to free themselves," declared the INC's Sharif Ali bin al Hussein. "Saddam rules his people through tyranny expressed through terror…and he exports that into his foreign policy and production of weapons of mass destruction [as well as] his support for international terrorism."

The INC has "been in constant dialogue with the United States" on how to build resistance to Saddam on the ground, stated Sharif Ali. "The Clinton administration depended on the policy of containment and sanctions, which has been insufficient over the past ten years to undermine the regime." So what does the INC want instead? "What we want to do is close the chapter on Saddam Hussein. We want the United States to empower the Iraqi people to end this nightmare." Sharif Ali is confident that an overthrow "is doable."

Why is he so sure the INC can accomplish what has seemed impossible over the past decade? Because Saddam's government "is not the all-encompassing totalitarian regime that people think it is. That's pre-Kuwait. Over the last ten years, the regime has lost its legitimacy…. It's lost a great deal of its control inside Iraq. What we need is the support of the international community. We need the United States to empower us to shorten the period that it will take to overthrow the regime, and to send a clear message to what remaining support Saddam Hussein has in Iraq… that there will be no appeasement, that there will be no rehabilitation."

Though virtually ignored by the American media, "the Iraqi National Congress is the strongest opposition…in the Arab world. We have over a third of the country liberated. We have our own military forces. We have a presence in all of the regional countries. We have our own satellite TV stations. We have newspapers. We have meetings at the highest levels with international leaders." (It should also be pointed out that members of the INC, unlike those of Afghanistan's Northern Alliance, have not been accused of terror acts of their own.)

But can the INC defeat the Republican Guard militarily? INC member Ahmad Chalabi explains that "Saddam Hussein has decimated the Iraqi army, and the Republican Guard is not as loyal to Saddam as people think." And while sanctions have not been enough to topple Hussein, they have prevented him from maintaining and modernizing his military forces.

The INC's goal is a democratic federalist system, free elections, and minority protections enshrined in a constitution (which would all be firsts in the Arab world). Those concerned that an INC government might turn into just another dictatorship or theocracy may be heartened by the fact that, as an INC member points out, Iraq has a peaceful and civilized history. From 1920 on, the Iraqi state was a relatively modern parliamentary monarchy based on elections, where "religious tolerance was a hallmark." Jews were once the majority group in Baghdad. It was when the Baath Party seized power in 1968 that Iraq began its transformation into the tyrannical, if secular, cauldron of human misery that we know today.

Speaking of the will of the Iraqi people to fight Saddam Hussein, as demonstrated by uprisings such as the one in 1991, Chalabi declares that the members of the INC "believe that we had a great chance, had we not been undermined by the Clinton administration." The United States now has the power to give the INC, and Iraq, another great chance. There is no guarantee the INC will succeed, nor that it won't make mistakes. But the group is Iraq's best hope for a humane and peaceful future—and history's first opportunity for rooting a modern, democratic, peaceful government in the heart of the Islamic World.

HARNESS THE POWER OF GREED

We know there's a continuing problem with weapons getting through airport security. Testers at Baltimore-Washington International Airport (serving the capital), slipped 16 bombs, 9 hand grenades, and 25 guns by the scanners between January 1995 and August 2001. Fines were issued to airlines in 38 percent of these cases. But fines have little effect on the airlines, and even less effect on the security personnel on the ground.

Perhaps it's time for some new thinking. What if every time a screener found a

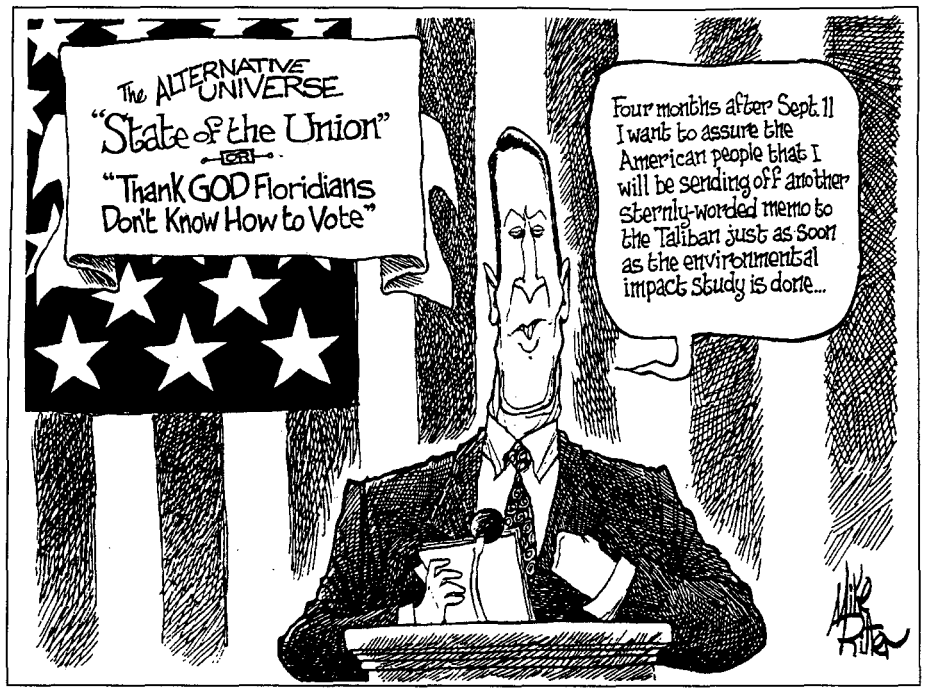
HE'S RIGHT: HE'S A MENACE

Mark Turner was released from prison after serving four years of an 11-year robbery sentence. A few years later, he was back behind bars for involvement in another robbery. From his jail cell, he launched a $1.6 million suit against prison and parole officials—for letting him out of jail after his last crime.

The government should have known better than to set him free, he says. In a court affidavit, he argued that the state was "responsible for my every move while under their supervision" and "there was good reason for concern" that he remained a threat to the public—pointing to his own extensive criminal history as an armed robber, drug trafficker, and convicted weapons offender.

We're not sure who we'd like to see lose this particular lawsuit.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



© North American Syndicate/Mike Ritter

gun, knife, or bomb—whether carried by a passenger or an official tester—the screener uncovering it earned a bonus of some hundreds of dollars? Do you think more or fewer weapons would be caught?

The exact amount of the bonus would have to be tinkered with (and should probably be mirrored by a dock in pay for missing a weapon), but the screeners' lives would certainly be much more exciting—which is the point. Airport security screening is what's called a "vigilance task," and humans are notoriously bad at these (imagine proofreading an encyclopedia). Quite simply: We get bored. We even, as did one screener in February, fall asleep.

The prospect of hard cash bonuses just might heighten the senses and keep those eyelids from getting too heavy. Of course, lines already move slowly enough at airports, and putting screeners on an all-day treasure hunt could slow things further. So it might be necessary to penalize them slightly if the speed of the line falls below the predetermined rate (with exceptions for security emergencies).

Congress has already made airport security workers federal employees (new motto: "We can't be fired, and it shows!"), and set technological guidelines that won't be met for years. Why not harness the awesome power of greed to improve the vigilance of airport security workers?

It's an idea that has been used effectively to solve air travel problems in the past. The current system of offering passengers free tickets to give up their seats on overbooked flights was presented by economist Julian Simon in the *Wall Street Journal* in 1977. People respond to financial incentives above most anything else. No amount of planning or training will override human nature, but a smartly designed system to reward desired behavior has the potential to work wonders.

—**Ryan H. Sager** *is a Washington, D.C. writer.*

THE MISSING GUN

Another U.S. school shooting occurred in January. This time, it took place in Virginia, at the Appalachian Law School. As usual, there were calls for more gun control.

In this age of "gun-free school zones," one fact was missing from virtually all news coverage: The attack was stopped by two male students who had guns in their cars. The fast responses of Mikael Gross, 34, and Tracy Bridges, 25, undoubtedly saved lives.

Mikael was outside the law school just returning from lunch when Peter Odighizuwa started his attack. Tracy was in a classroom waiting for class to start. When the shots rang out, utter chaos erupted. "People were running everywhere," Mikael said. "They were jumping behind cars, running out in front of traffic, trying to get away."

Mikael and Tracy did something quite different: Both immediately ran to their cars and got their guns. Along with Ted Besen (who was unarmed), the two men approached Odighizuwa from different sides. As Tracy explained it, "I aimed my gun at him, and Peter tossed his gun down. Ted approached Peter, and Peter hit Ted in the jaw. Ted pushed him back and we all jumped on."

What is remarkable is that out of 280 separate news stories (from a Lexis-Nexis database search) in the week after the event, only four mentioned that the student heroes had guns. Only two local newspapers (the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* and the *Charlotte Observer*) mentioned that the young men actually pointed their guns at the attacker to end his rampage.

Much more typical was the reporting in the *Washington Post,* where the heroes were described as simply having "helped subdue" the killer. The *New York Times* noted only that the attacker was "tackled by fellow students." Most other media outlets said something like "students overpowered a gunman," "students ended the rampage by tackling him," "the gunman was tackled by four male students before being arrested," or "students ended the rampage by confronting and then tackling the gunman, who dropped his weapon." In all, 72 stories described how the attacker was stopped *without mentioning that the heroes accomplished this feat because they had guns.*

Unfortunately, such coverage is not unusual. In other public school shootings where citizens with guns have

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stopped attacks, only about 1 percent of news reports have mentioned that armed citizens put a halt to the onslaught.

Many people find it hard to believe the research that shows there are 2 million defensive uses of guns in the U.S. each year. If these events were really happening, they reason, wouldn't we hear about them on the news?

This misreporting actually endangers people's lives. By selectively reporting events and turning a defensive gun-use story into one where students merely "overpowered a gunman" the media gives misleading impressions of which defenses work when people are confronted by violence. Research consistently shows that having a gun is the safest way to respond to any type of criminal attack, especially these multiple-victim shootings. Americans ought to know that.

—**John Lott** *is an AEI resident scholar.*

GOOD CHRISTIAN JOURNALISM

While many secular conservative publications face stagnant or falling circulation numbers, two recent developments demonstrate the growing strength and vitality of Christian journalism.

In North Carolina, Warren Smith, a former marketing director for PricewaterhouseCoopers, has launched three weekly papers, *The Raleigh World*, *The Triad World*, and *The Charlotte World*. He recently told the *Spectator* (an alternative Raleigh weekly) that he is aiming his three publications at markets not adequately served by the secular media, such as the 40 percent of Raleigh residents who go to church every Sunday yet find little in their community papers related to faith.

Spectator writer Todd Morman notes that "secular readers who expect a shallow, mindless take on the issues of the day are in for a nice surprise." Smith's newspapers have been sharply critical of Republican senatorial candidate Elizabeth Dole, criticizing her "unwillingness to talk to the state's media" and her "unwillingness to put herself in situations where she might be asked unexpected questions or give unscripted answers." Morman observes that these publications "include information you won't find in mainstream sources," such as a Family Research Council investigation of nursing homes that allow abuse of their residents.

Smith's three new papers are for-profit enterprises; in 2001, they brought in a combined $400,000 in ad revenue. Though none of them makes money yet, Smith expects to break even in 2003. He hopes to produce a nationwide chain of Christian weeklies.

And there is an organization specifically for Christians who want to become journalists: the World Journalism Institute, founded in 1999, which has expanded in the past year from one training session to five. "The mission of the World Journalism Institute is to provide a counter-thrust to the secular media, as well as the tepid and non-discerning Christian media," states institute director Robert Case. In three years the institute has hosted 102 journalists, including reporters from the *Los Angeles Times*, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, and *Washington Post*. Institute alumni are employed with at least three television stations plus newspapers in Indianapolis; Lansing, Michigan; Lancaster, Pennsylvania; and elsewhere.

Marvin Olasky, editor of *World* magazine and an adviser to the institute, explained that the courses are designed to teach Christian writers not only how to be good journalists, but how much "to push the envelope" of their faith in the newsroom. He tells aspiring journalists: "If you just follow the conventional definition of objectivity, that's an improvement" over current media practices.

MIGHTY QUEER

Jesse's Dream Skirt, a book aimed at kindergarteners through third-graders, tells the story of a young boy who likes to wear his mother's clothes, eventually asking for his own skirt. Mom makes him one, and he wears the skirt to school, teaching his friends a lesson about acceptance. Dad, who objects, is the story's villain. The story closes with an illustration of Jesse twirling through his classroom, underwear exposed, in his beautiful skirt.

The book is one example from a curriculum implemented in California public schools to encourage acceptance of homosexuality. At its latest national convention, the National Education Association, the country's largest teachers union, presented a plan for every school in the country to use just such curricula.

ECO-FRAUD?

From the January 2002 CEI Update*:*

An unmistakable whiff of scandal is in the air following revelations that seven members of an inter-agency task force (with representatives from the U.S. Forest Service, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, and several state wildlife departments), established in 1999 to determine the prevalence and range of a threatened cat called the Canadian lynx, planted bogus samples of the animal's fur in three Western national forests, essentially trying to pass off hairs taken from a captive lynx as ones found in the wild.

Had the scam not been detected, access to hundreds of thousands of acres of public forests might have been severely restricted based on the false premise that the cats were present. Several participants in the scam said that they only submitted the false "control samples" to test the quality of laboratory work. But suspicions run high that the lynx hair was part of an effort by agenda-driven scientists to find a backdoor way of curtailing the use of the national forests in question.

The case is reportedly under investigation by the General Accounting Office

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and inspectors general at the Departments of Interior and Agriculture. And Congressional hearings on the issue are anticipated.

Not long after the lynx case came to light, other potential cases of bio-fraud were reported, including one involving grizzly bears in Washington State. If a pattern of duplicity by government wildlife scientists emerges, such cases could prompt a wholesale review of the "science" undergirding endangered species listings.

COFFEE CRAZED

A big protest took place in late February at the Starbucks annual meeting in Seattle. "MOCHA IS SLAVERY," the signs proclaimed. "ESPRESSO KILLS BIRDS," and "STOP THE WHAMS." In case you're not current on left-wing epithets, "WHAMS" are white heterosexual able-bodied males.

Starbucks executives are rich, declare the protesters, because coffee pickers are poor. "The coffee industry is one based on the super-exploitation of Third World farmers, many of whom live in dire poverty, at the mercy of the weather and a fluctuating market, whilst speculators and corporate heads make obscene profits," writes Stuart Munckton in *Green Left Weekly*.

That's good socialist rhetoric, but it ignores the fact that Honduras was poor before Starbucks poured its first Caramel Frappuccino. It ignores the fact that in rural Honduras, where unemployment is at 64 percent, picking beans for Starbucks is a definite step up, much as the Left may hate the idea. Each new Starbucks store means more jobs and less wretchedness in places like Honduras. Protesters would help impoverished small farmers more if they dropped their signs and bought a Gingerbread Latte.

What about "ESPRESSO KILLS BIRDS"? The U.S. Agency for International Development has provided some $80 million in assistance to help coffee growers in Central America and the Caribbean develop new higher-yielding coffee plants that thrive under direct sun, instead of requiring shade. Rally organizers claim these new farming techniques mean fewer trees and fewer habitats for birds. Buy an espresso and kiss a warbler goodbye.

Then there's "MOCHA IS SLAVERY." Chocolate flavoring, activists claim, is made possible only through slave labor in the Ivory Coast. "The lucky slaves live on corn paste and bananas. The unlucky ones are whipped with bicycle chains…to harvest the almond-sized beans that are made into chocolate treats for more fortunate children in Europe and America."

Anyone getting the idea that the Left has overdosed on guilt?

—**Ralph Reiland** *is B. Kenneth Simon professor of free enterprise at Robert Morris University.*

AND THE OWNERS NEED SHRINKS

The *Wall Street Journal* recently reported that the number of certified pet chiropractors has risen to 600, and that there are now 55 certified pet dentists in the country. Reporter Sarah Collins spoke with a North Palm Beach retiree who put braces on his schnauzer puppy. Other pet owners bought their animals hip replacements, chemotherapy, a $25,000 kidney transplant (the owner took out a home equity loan to pay), and weekly dialysis. One woman's dachshund, Norman, had a $5,000 operation on his neck, and then a sequence of doggie acupuncture. A black lab's owner who has spent $5,000 on the creature's skin rash says her husband has a new nickname for the dog: Red Ink.

TORN FREE

In 2001, ten-year-old Cory Rundle gave up TV. For an entire year, no Raymond, no Homer, no old movies, no football games. He didn't even play a single video game. Now that Cory's bet with his dad is won, and he can watch all the TV he wants, does he?

"No, it's boring. You could do so much better things than watch TV."

"But, Cory, don't you miss 'Malcolm in the Middle?'"

"What's 'Malcolm in the Middle?'"

It all began with his older brother, Daniel, 12. "He was watching a lot of TV and playing Nintendo constantly. My dad said he'd give him $5,000 if he didn't watch TV for a year. He said no. I heard him and said I'd do it." Dad didn't take the bet seriously. He should have.

"My dad came back from a business trip and was wondering why I wasn't watching. My mom said I hadn't been watching for three weeks. So then I kept going." And going.

When it was over, his parents presented him with a check for $5,000 that came in a card that read: "You never let those who said it couldn't be done stand in your way."

"What did you do with all that extra time?" I asked Cory.

"I read a lot. About the human body, about bones and stuff." He read the *New Atlas of Human Anatomy* and *Brain Surgery for Beginners*. Cory also did a lot of calligraphy, started playing baseball this past summer, and played chess with his friend, Ben. He even got into sewing.

"I made little animal dudes and gave them away as presents."

A little more than a month ago, he taught himself to play the harmonica and is already playing songs. With part of his $5,000, he plans to buy a guitar. He's also thinking of investing some of his money in the stock market.

—**Steve Wartenberg** *is a columnist for* The Intelligencer *in Philadelphia.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A world of ideas on public policy.

In Defense of Global Capitalism

by Johan Norberg

The current debate about globalization presupposes that the world is rapidly going to the dogs. In particular, the world is said to have become increasingly unfair. The chorus of the debate on the market economy runs: "The rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer." If anything, this is regarded as a dictate of natural law, not a thesis to be argued. Yes, the first half is true: the rich – not all of them everywhere, but generally speaking – have indeed become richer. But the second half is, quite simply, wrong. The poor have not, generally speaking, come to be worse off in recent decades. On the contrary, extreme poverty has diminished, and where it was quantitatively greatest – in Asia – many hundreds of millions of people have begun to achieve a secure existence and even a modest degree of affluence.

Between 1965 and 1998, the average world citizen's income almost doubled, from $2,497 to $4,839. For the poorest one-fifth of the world's population, the increase has been faster still, with average income more than doubling during the same period from $551 to $1,137. In China, the World Bank has spoken of "the biggest and fastest poverty reduction in history."

By the 1990s, when the Swedish author Lasse Berg and the film-maker Stig Karlsson returned to Asian countries in which they had travelled thirty years earlier, they could not believe how wrong they had been to view socialist revolution as the only way out of the misery they had seen on their earlier visit. In India and China, more and more people were extricating themselves from poverty, hunger, and insanitary conditions.

> ***The most important thing of all is liberty itself, the independence and dignity which autonomy confers on people who have been living under oppression***

The biggest change of all is in people's thoughts and dreams. Television and newspapers bring ideas and impressions from the other side of the globe, widening people's notions of what is possible. This development has resulted not from socialist revolution but, on the contrary, from a move in the past few decades towards greater individual liberty. International exchange and the freedom to choose have grown; investments and development assistance have transmitted ideas and resources. Benefit has been derived from the knowledge, wealth, and inventions of other countries.

Imports of medicines and new health care systems have improved living conditions. Modern technology and new methods of production have boosted productivity and improved the food supply. Individuals have become freer to choose their own occupations and to sell their products. Discrimination has been reduced, since global capitalism doesn't care whether the best producer is a man or a woman. Discrimination is expensive, implying as it does the rejection of certain people's goods and labor. We can tell from the statistics how these developments have enhanced national prosperity and reduced poverty. But the most important thing of all is liberty itself, the independence and dignity which autonomy confers on people who have been living under oppression.

Lasse Berg sums up the phenomenon thus: "It is not only inside China that a Chinese wall is now being torn down. Something similar is happening all over the world, in Bihar, in East Timor, Ovamboland. Human beings are discovering that the individual is entitled to be his own. This has by no means been self-evident before. The discovery engenders a longing, not only for freedom but also for the good things in life, for prosperity."

It is this mentality which must inspire optimism. We have not travelled the full distance; coercion and poverty still cover large areas of our globe. Great setbacks can and will occur. But people who know that living in a state of ignorance and oppression is not a natural necessity will no longer accept this as the only conceivable state of affairs. They will demand freedom and democracy. The aim of our political and economic systems should be to give them that freedom.

Johan Norberg holds an MA in the history of ideas and is a leading protagonist in the Swedish debate on free trade and globalization. This article is extracted from his recent book, In Defence of Global Capitalism, published by Timbro (www.timbro.se).

PFIZER FORUM IS AN ADVERTISING SERIES SPONSORED IN THE INTEREST OF ENCOURAGING PUBLIC DISCUSSION ON POLICY QUESTIONS AND FEATURING A WIDE VARIETY OF VIEWS FROM LEADING POLICY EXPERTS. PFIZER IS A RESEARCH BASED, GLOBAL PHARMACEUTICAL COMPANY. PFIZER INC, 235 EAST 42ND STREET, NEW YORK 10017-5755 USA. HTTP://WWW.PFIZER.COM

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Forward Observer

James Glassman

Silver Lining to the Tech-Wreck

Almost since it went public nearly five years ago, the online retailer Amazon.com has been a poster child for Internet skeptics. How, they groused, could a new company selling books over the World Wide Web be worth more than Sears, Federated Department Stores, Saks, and Nordstrom combined? To the critics, Amazon was an absurd manifestation of the high-technology bubble.

In some ways, it was. Amazon sold its first public shares in May 1997 at $18 apiece. Two and a half years later, the stock had split three times, and the price had soared to $113. An investment of $1,800 became $135,600. Then within another two years, the share price had crashed to $5.50. The $1,800 nut was then worth a less stratospheric $6,600.

Amidst this rollercoaster ride, however, Amazon had strong fundamentals. It was built on a great idea, had excellent management, and good finances. Amazon's founder, Jeff Bezos, spent billions to develop a strong brand and excellent customer service. Now that strategy seems to be working. On January 22, Amazon announced it had just completed its first quarter in which revenues exceeded expenses.

Amazon's official earnings, after taxes and interest, were $5 million for the three months ending in December 2001. It lost $526 million for the year, but that compared with a $1.1 billion loss in 2000. The company finished 2001 with a cushion of $996 million in cash and marketable securities. With this news, Amazon stock jumped to about $14, indicating the market valued the company at $5 billion.

The triumph of Amazon comes at a time when Internet naysayers are crowing over what they see as the popping of the Internet bubble. New books like *Dot.Con*, by John Cassidy of *The New Yorker*, contend that the technology boom was a put-up job by stock promoters. That's nonsense. Technology tends to be overestimated when it is brand new and underestimated after the early excitement fades. Certainly, there was too much enthusiasm a few years ago, but there is too little today.

Look at eBay, the online auction house. When it went public in September 1998, two years after its founding, it was already profitable. In 2001, a recession year, sales rose 74 percent to $748 million, and profits roughly doubled to $90 million. Dell Computer, which sells computer hardware over the Internet at exceptionally low costs, is now making $2 billion in annual profits on $30 billion in sales.

Yahoo, the Internet portal, makes most of its money selling advertising—a difficult endeavor in 2001. Yahoo's profits fell last year to $41 million, from $291 million—but it was the company's fifth profitable year in a row, and sales, at $717 million, were still impressive. Like eBay, Yahoo has mountains of cash and no debt.

But investors did overestimate Yahoo's value: At one point in 2000 they bid its share price up to $250. Less than two years later, it had fallen to $8. Still, an investor who put $10,000 into Yahoo when it went public in April 1996 had shares worth $66,145 on March 5, 2002.

It's the nature of start-up companies to die by the thousands. Only the fittest thrive. The risks are enormous, but so are the rewards. An investor who put $10,000 into Dell in 1991, three years after its IPO, had $1 million in stock a decade later. Was it really so crazy to take a chance on Amazon, in the process valuing it higher than Sears? Few expect Sears to increase profits more than about 5 percent a year, but Amazon, having invented a new way to sell things, could, in a relatively short time, earn $1 billion annually on $20 billion in revenues.

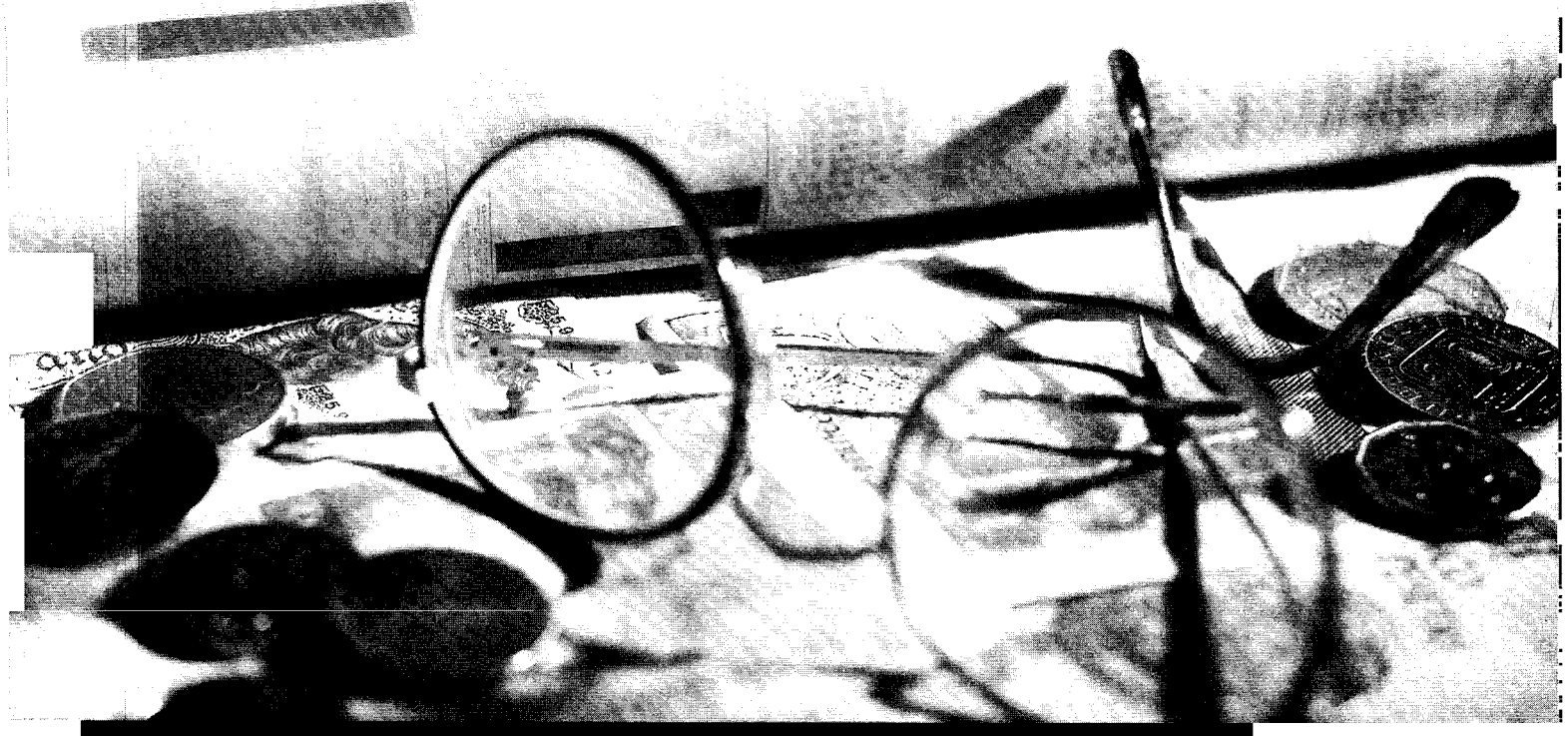
In an important speech last year, Stanford economist Robert Hall stated that "The pricing of new technology companies tries to avoid the error of Microsoft—a dollar invested in Microsoft stock in 1990 resulted in a claim of $1.38 in after-tax earnings in 2000 alone. Obviously, the market in 1990 guessed absurdly low about Microsoft's cash-flow growth."

In other words, with early-stage technology firms, pricing is not easy. Hence, the market's volatility. *Dot.Con* author Cassidy claims that the tech bubble was the result of marketing, some of it crooked. Certainly, there was overselling—that always happens on Wall Street. But there was underselling, too, as in the cases of AOL, Microsoft, and Dell.

Sometimes investors get the prices right, and sometimes they get them wrong. But the tech boom was hardly just a scam. Denigrating technology can only hurt the U.S. economy.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DO YOU WANT TO MAKE TAX-DEDUCTIBLE GIFTS TO CHARITY THIS YEAR?



Before you do, use our checklist:

Have you made last-minute decisions to meet the December 31 deadline?

...en you give through DonorsTrust, you don't have ...make hasty decisions. Whether you contribute ...n or appreciated assets, opening a donor-advised ...ount will immediately qualify you for the maximum ...ritable tax deduction. After that, you can request ...ursements from your donor-advised account at ...r leisure.

Have you thought about setting up your own private foundation to save on taxes?

...DonorsTrust you'll get a larger tax break. ...e DonorsTrust is an independent public charity, ...ontributions entitle you to the highest charitable ...duction allowed by law. You'll also avoid the ...strative burdens and expenses that go with ...g your own foundation.

Do you assume all charities are equa... concerned about your intent?

Unfortunately, some organizations ... charitable intent as seriously as yo... Our mission is to support only thos... that promote liberty through limited ... personal responsibility, and free enterpri... reflects your intent as a donor, you won't ... more reliable partner.

There's more to charity than giving.

For more details, visit ou... or call us for a free infor...

Donors...

BUILDING A LEGAC...

...03.53... 3563 | www...

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Live" with TAE

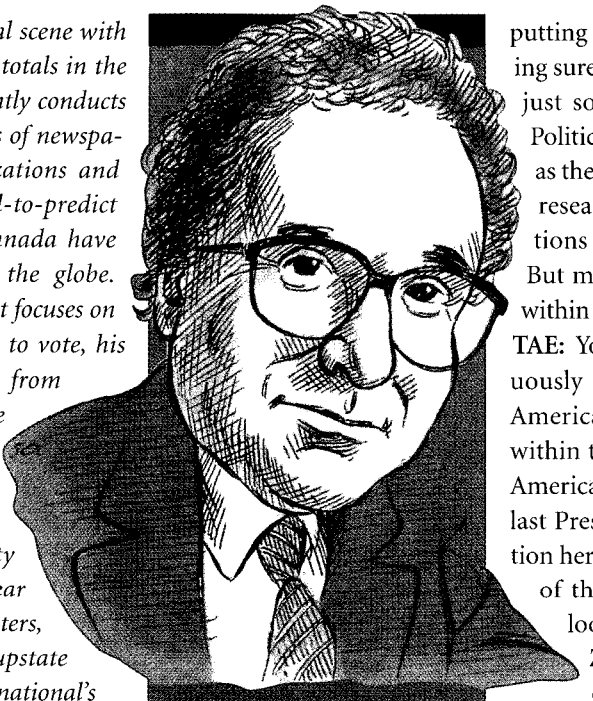
As a political prognosticator, he has an unequaled record. He's a liberal who often spots conservative electoral strengths other trend watchers miss. It's no accident he insists on living and working in "the Real America." Meet the red hot pollster...

John Zogby

John Zogby vaulted onto the national scene with his dead-on prediction of final vote totals in the 1996 Presidential election. He currently conducts polls for Reuters, NBC News, dozens of newspapers, and a host of major organizations and corporations. Correct calls in hard-to-predict national elections in Israel and Canada have burnished his reputation around the globe. Thanks to a mathematical model that focuses on the individuals most likely actually to vote, his survey results often differ sharply from those of other pollsters, and quite often he has been right when they were wrong.

While nearly all other pollsters operate out of ivy-covered university campuses or big-city office suites near America's political and economic centers, Zogby does his work from the cozy upstate burg of Utica, New York. Zogby International's unglamorous offices are located in a low-slung yellow-brick building next to a bowling alley that offers "extreme bowling" with blacklights and glow-in-the-dark balls. His official biography makes note of his work coaching Little League and serving on the board of his local United Way.

A spy novel addict, Zogby told us he dreams of reading a Tom Clancy yarn in which hero Jack Ryan picks up a Zogby poll. He spoke with TAE *editor in chief Karl Zinsmeister and senior editor Eli Lehrer at his headquarters in Utica.*



Political elites tend to think of Real Americans as the great unwashed. But most Real Americans vote, and they vote within the context of their lives.

TAE: You bill yourself as an interpreter of "The Real America." Tell us some of the most important ways that Real Americans differ from the elites who run our institutions from New York City, D.C., Los Angeles, and other major urban centers.

ZOGBY: Real Americans spend their days doing pretty much what they're supposed to be doing: putting food on the table, getting to work, making sure the kids are in school on time. Voting is just something they do one day every year. Political elites tend to think of Real Americans as the great unwashed because they don't read research papers and know the various positions of candidates or bills before Congress. But most Real Americans vote, and they vote within the context of their lives.

TAE: You are unusual in that you have conspicuously chosen to live and to work in middle America, in small-town Upstate New York, within the "red" America instead of the "blue" America that we saw in all those maps after the last Presidential race. Do you think your location here helps you interpret the "fly-over" parts of the U.S. that often get misread or overlooked by others?

ZOGBY: Absolutely. Utica is where most of our personal interaction takes place. I get my fill of sitting down with national pundits and politicians and talking to reporters and doing speaking engagements around the country with various elite groups. Then I talk to people in my neighborhood, and here where I park my car in the morning, and around my small city. My rule is that if my neighbors aren't talking about it, then it's not really an issue. That's my reality check.

TAE: You appear to be a true local patriot who, like lots of other Americans, has eschewed the bright lights of the big city in order to build your career, your family, and your social web in the same small community where you grew up. What does this decision mean in personal terms, both for you and for other Americans making a similar decision?

ZOGBY: It all starts with family. For me, there were family decisions that trumped professional decisions. Utica is a very nice place to live. Being

Illustration by Sam Torode

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

here is also an opportunity for me to shine a little more brightly. Even if I had not made it professionally on the national stage to the extent that I have, I would have known that I'm employing several hundred people in my own hometown. I'm doing some things here in the community that I might not have had an opportunity to do on a wider national or international scale.

TAE: In many European countries, if you want to be part of the national conversation you almost have to live in the capital city. In France, you must go to Paris. In England, people feel they have to be in London. That's really not true here. Is this good for America?

ZOGBY: Oh, it sure is. And it's becoming easier every year. Round-the-clock cable news, for instance, has helped to institutionalize me and my firm. The incredible communication links around our country now mean I can do precisely what I want to do from here. I don't have to be in Washington. That modernizes the American Dream in so many ways. You don't have to go to New York City or Los Angeles to be a star. You don't have to go to Washington to be an effective spokesperson politically.

TAE: You did some polling on possible reforms that allow workers to re-channel a portion of their Social Security money into a personal account. How strong is public interest in such a program?

ZOGBY: Public support is very strong. Its intensity is another story. It's a very popular thing, so long as proponents can answer every question. That was where Bush fell down during the campaign. One of the reasons why he lost the popular vote was because Gore hammered and hammered about money being taken out of the Social Security system. Bush didn't respond adequately. But even with the stock market in the tank today, generalized support for personal Social Security accounts is still very, very high. More and more Americans see themselves as part of the investor class. They want control over their own investments.

TAE: Since September 11, the percentage of Americans telling pollsters that they trust the government has hit historic highs. What does this mean for our elected leaders?

ZOGBY: The newfound trust in government cuts both ways. It's a very difficult time to be President, or to be a government representative

Polling is a hard science. But it's also an art. There is art in how you ask the questions, how you weight your sample, how you interpret the results.

in general. When the terrorist attacks took place, the American people did not clamor for Microsoft or General Motors to act. They wanted the government to respond. Expectations for government are much greater than any time since Watergate. The problem that Bush and other politicians now face is that we're expecting government to be a problem solver in our lives, even though throughout the 1990s government became less and less of a factor in society.

TAE: If George Bush decides that the next step is to send the American military after Saddam Hussein, will the American public follow?

ZOGBY: Initially, I think they will. From there, I don't know. As I watched the events of September 11 on TV, I said, "Guess what? The Vietnam era is over." But I now think that initial reaction was maybe wrong, because whenever we've asked hypothetical questions that involve prolongation of this war, we saw support starting to taper off overall, and intense support dwindling down to less than one person in three.

There are problems with going after Saddam from a public relations standpoint. What's the exit strategy? Do we want to be nation building in two hot spots in the same region at the same time? Iraq is complicated because, like Afghanistan, it's not really a single country. It's Kurds in the north, Sunnis in the center and Shi'ites in the south, and not much of anything really holding that together right now except terror.

TAE: In the past, major crises like the Civil War, World War II, Vietnam, and the Great Depression permanently changed the role of government in U.S. society. Is it possible that the War on Terror could result in such a change?

ZOGBY: I think it is likely, because there has never been a national crisis quite like this before. We all saw it. We all felt it. We lived it in real time, and then saw it over and over again. And this wasn't a military target, it was ordinary people. At one point, 40 percent of the American people told us they thought they, or somebody they knew, were likely to get anthrax. This at a time when there were 17 cases, 45 exposures maximum, nationwide. So the personal perception of vulnerability is extremely high. Tom Ridge's job is not going to be a one-shot deal. You are going to see a new interest in civil defense.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TAE: The national reaction to September 11 was notable for its religiosity. In your judgment, is this spiritual renewal just a blip or is it going to be lasting?

ZOGBY: I think it was already there and the attack just gave it a second push. Levels of spirituality have been rising in the U.S. for years. I have a special interest in this issue and I've been fascinated by Robert Fogel's book *The Fourth Great Awakening.* Over the last four or five years I've created a typology of adults in America in terms of how they identify with the American Dream. There is a fast-growing group that has moved away from the American Dream as a materialistic conception and now identifies with it more in spiritual terms. When I first noticed this in 1998 they were 33 percent of the adult population. By the year 2000, 42 percent of the population saw the American Dream more in terms of spiritual fulfillment and less so in materialistic accomplishment. In the one measurement I've done since September 11 they were up to 52 percent of adults. I think that's a seismic shift in who we are.

TAE: Are Americans taking marriage more seriously than they did in the past?

ZOGBY: The answer is "yes" for a lot of reasons. It's a pre-September 11 thing. We have the coming of age for Generation X, the first generation where more people grew up in non-traditional homes than in traditional homes. They are searching for greater stability. You can see the hunger in popular culture. Fathers are more important. You can see that in movies like *Civil Disturbance* and *Life as a House,* even on the television show "Everyone Loves Raymond." We're coming back to a greater desire for some sort of stability in the home. That means marriage.

TAE: In concert with LeMoyne College, you are doing major regular polling of American Catholics. Could you summarize for us what this work is finding, particularly about how politics and ideology are evolving among American Catholics?

ZOGBY: The biggest differentiation point among American Catholics is between very active Catholics and less active Catholics. Active Catholics tend to be much more supportive of the Pope and the bishops and their positions. In many instances that means they are more conservative than inactive Catholics on things like abortion and euthanasia and various genetic technologies. However, when you look at issues like the death penalty and the responsibility of rich nations to feed poor nations, the more active Catholics tend to be more liberal than the less active Catholics. The common denominator is that the more active Catholics have a tendency to listen to the Church hierarchy more.

There is a fast-growing group that has moved away from the American Dream as a materialistic conception and now identifies with it more in spiritual terms.

TAE: Given the rise of racial and ethnic politics, the movement of many women to the Democratic Party, the growth of single parents and urban unmarrieds and other groups that tend to vote Left, do the Republicans have a serious demographic problem in the medium to longer term?

ZOGBY: Probably not. You get new immigrants coming in and they tend to be Democrats. As they enter into the second generation and move out into the suburbs they tend to become Republicans. So their issues will become less ethnic and more suburban. Republicans will remain competitive.

There is going to continue to be a growth of political independents. In the 1960s, only 4 percent of registered voters were independents, now the number of independents is increasing very quickly. You don't even have to register with a political party in many states any more, and there is much less loyalty to any party mechanism or its candidates.

TAE: The mainstream of the Republican Party has been quite supportive of legal immigration. Why do immigrants remain so overwhelmingly Democratic in the first generation?

ZOGBY: Well, a lot of them move into cities, and even though many cities have elected Republican mayors, they still elect city councils that are Democratic. When immigrants come into cities they are looking for social services, and often it's the Democrats who provide those social services. The Republicans provide a level of spirituality and a level of solidarity on some issues but the Democrats are seen as the party which helps them get work and put food on the table. That gets the initial loyalty.

TAE: What are the political implications of America's growing Hispanic population?

ZOGBY: Latinos could very well become the important swing vote in a number of states, as well as in the nation as a whole. I was surprised

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to see that they were 8 percent of the total vote in the 2000 election. That represents a 40 percent increase in their vote nationally. That's multiplied in the Southwest and in the major urban areas of the country.

I did a lot of focus groups and polls among Latinos in 2000, and one of the things that I found is that even though there is some identification with certain "Republican issues," many of them just couldn't see themselves pulling the lever where the elephant mark is.

But that all changed in the New York City election: Michael Bloomberg got just about the same number of Hispanic votes as did Mark Green. Regardless of the unique circumstances within New York City, that was a precedent, that Latinos could vote in large numbers for a Republican. So the Democrats are learning not to take the Latino vote for granted.

TAE: Will Hispanics and Asians follow the path of Irish and Italians in eventually becoming more conservative politically, or will they remain liberals as Jews have?

ZOGBY: Jews pretty much are the exception to normal patterns of moving to the suburbs and becoming more conservative. Yet you see a growing number of conservative Jews in the U.S. Even in Nassau and Suffolk counties on Long Island you now have Jewish Republicans in large numbers, and that's something that New York politicians have had to pay special attention to.

TAE: What political future do you see for Rudy Giuliani?

ZOGBY: Boy, he's hot right now. But one mistake can make you cold. Having Rudy in some kind of high-profile Cabinet post could be a possibility. Maybe Homeland Security: Find something else for Tom Ridge. Maybe Tommy Thompson goes home and Ridge takes Tommy Thompson's place at HHS. That's a perfect job for Rudy.

TAE: Are there reasons for optimism about the state of black America today, and if so, what are they?

ZOGBY: Well, the long-term trend continues to be that more and more blacks are entering the middle class. In addition, some of the awful developments of the '70s, '80s, and early '90s seem to be reversing: teen pregnancies, murder rates, numbers of incarcerations of African-American males. In addition, you have more visible spokespersons, and a greater presence in political and corporate institutions. There is still some growth in the permanent underclass, however, and that tempers the gains that have been made.

Younger Americans are coming back to a greater desire for some sort of stability in the home. That means marriage.

TAE: Quite apart from their economic success or lack of success, do black Americans feel more part of the national enterprise than they used to ten or 20 years ago?

ZOGBY: I think there is a bifurcation there. Especially since September 11, you have many Blacks who are showing they have the same feelings as white Americans do: They are rallying around the flag, they are fearful and anxious. By the same token, we've just conducted an extensive series of polls on African-American Muslims. In that group there are some significant angers and frustrations about what the meaning and the promise of this country really is.

TAE: One of the only new ethnic groups that Republicans seem to have had some success with over the last few years was Muslim immigrants. What explains that, and do you think it will continue now that the War on Terror has scrambled everything?

ZOGBY: There was a poll right after the last Presidential election in which it was claimed that 70 percent of Muslim Americans voted Republican. But matching religion to voters is not easy, and I'm dubious about that result. The largest group of Muslims in our country are Black Muslims, and they vote 90 to 95 percent Democratic. With that said, Republicans really were going out of their way to make overtures to Muslim Americans over the last few years, and I think that is a smart political move on their part. It's a fast growing group that has a number of conservative ideals. Given the levels of immigration and birth rates among Muslim immigrants, you're talking about considerable future growth. If Republicans want to continue to make progress among them, nothing will ever replace the importance of physical presence: Go to mosques.

TAE: You are Arab American and your brother James heads the Arab American Institute, a major Arab advocacy group. What can you tell us about the positions of Arab Americans in U.S. society today and public attitudes towards them?

ZOGBY: Arab Americans have never been perceived more favorably than they are today, because they've never been more visible than

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they are today. The spotlight has focused on Arab Americans, and the polling numbers are more favorable than they've ever been before.

TAE: Even since September 11?

ZOGBY: Especially since September 11! It's been mostly due to the efforts of the President and folks like Rudy Giuliani. There's been a focus of attention on Arab Americans as real Americans: Not the scintilla of a tenth of a percent who may have been hiding terrorists.

TAE: What are the relations like in the U.S. between Christian Arabs like your family and Muslim Arab immigrants? Are there alliances based on national origin that supercede the religious splits, or do Arab immigrants of different religions think of themselves as unrelated groups?

ZOGBY: That's a complicated question. We always have this debate in the Arab community, between the first wave and the second wave. I'm a child of the first wave. It's predominantly Lebanese and predominantly Christian. The second wave is much more mixed. The first wave ended in 1940, with the onset of World War II. The second wave didn't really begin until after the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, so you have a big hiatus between the two groups. People in the second wave wanted to be recognized as minorities in cities like Dearborn, Michigan, Los Angeles, and Brooklyn. On the other hand people of my generation were saying, "No, we're white ethnics." Some of that tension is Christian-Muslim and some is first wave vs. second wave. Some of it is status anxiety too. Folks of my generation are saying, "Me, a minority? Look at what I've achieved. I did this without any government help."

With that said, there still is some affinity even among assimilated Christian Arabs toward Pakistanis and toward Indians and toward people of Muslim or Third World background. I feel it myself. You know, a Pakistani American walks by and I say, "My folks are from Lebanon." And we begin to chat with each other. It's not unlike identifying yourself as a European of some sort.

TAE: You're a liberal Democrat but in recent years you've become quite popular among conservatives. Why?

ZOGBY: I think it's because I saw a number of Republican victories that others didn't see. Many conservatives grew up kind of disgusted with and distrustful of polls. Then along came somebody who did something different, and lo and behold it showed Republicans doing better. The fact of the matter is I'm really independent as a pollster. I think folks appreciate that my numbers are honest numbers, and I don't try to spin them.

TAE: You've received some criticism from academics who say "Polling is a hard science: It has to be done like physics." What's wrong with looking at polling as a science?

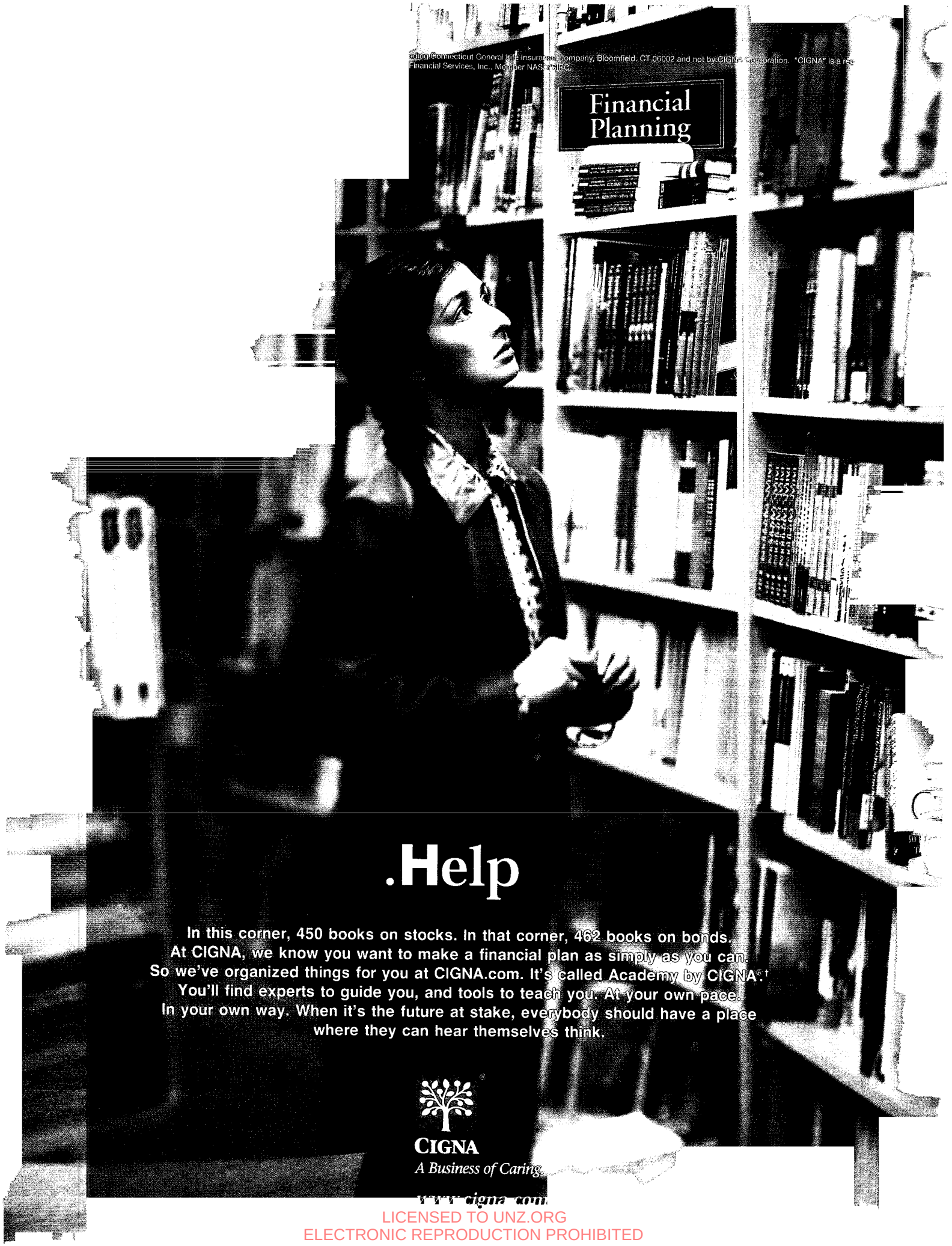
ZOGBY: Nothing. It *is* a hard science. But it's also an art. Anybody who claims that it isn't art is lying to himself. There is art in how you ask the questions, and art in how you interpret the results. Art is involved in how you ultimately weight your sample. We pollsters all have voter turnout models: 95 percent of what I do is the same as what everybody else does. There are only two differences. One is that I recognize there is some art involved, and the other is that my art quotient has so far let me get results right more often than the others do.

This is a pretty risky business. There were a lot of risks involved in me as some guy sitting in Utica, New York coming out with numbers that were far different from everybody else's numbers. And not just once or twice or even five times; there have been many, many races where my polling numbers have stood all alone. Thank God the American people did more of what I said they were going to than what the other guys predicted.

Latinos increased their vote by 40 percent in the 2000 election. I was surprised to see that.

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE
ONLINE
Selected for Netscape's "Editor's Choice" Award.
Now updated daily.
www.TAEmag.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



...Connecticut General Life Insurance Company, Bloomfield, CT 06002 and not by CIGNA Corporation. "CIGNA" is a reg...
Financial Services, Inc., Member NASD/SIPC.

.Help

In this corner, 450 books on stocks. In that corner, 462 books on bonds.
At CIGNA, we know you want to make a financial plan as simply as you can.
So we've organized things for you at CIGNA.com. It's called Academy by CIGNA.®†
You'll find experts to guide you, and tools to teach you. At your own pace.
In your own way. When it's the future at stake, everybody should have a place
where they can hear themselves think.

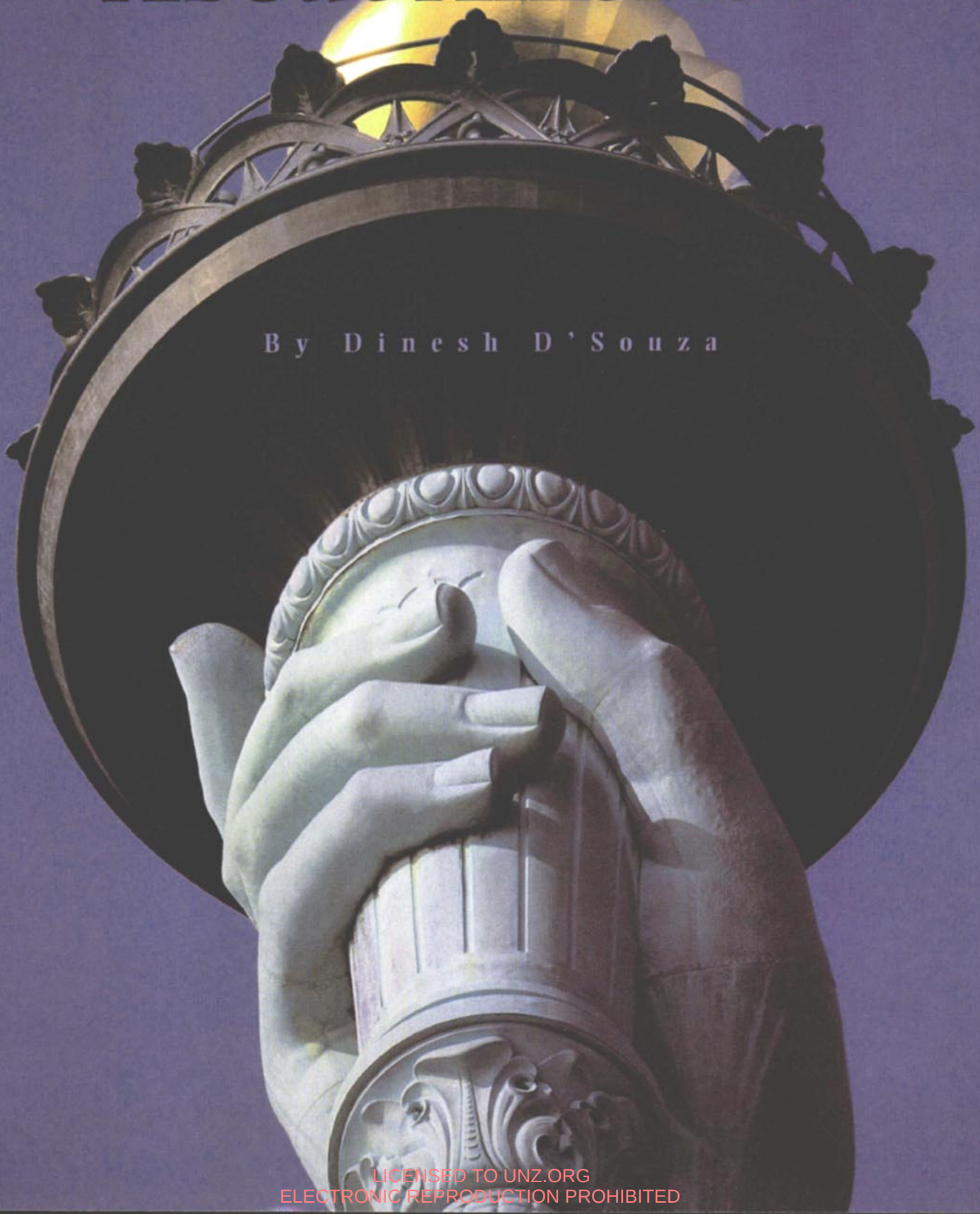
CIGNA®
A Business of Caring.

www.cigna.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What's So Great About America?

By Dinesh D'Souza



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The newcomer who sees America for the first time typically experiences emotions that alternate between wonder and delight. Here is a country where *everything works*: The roads are paper-smooth, the highway signs are clear and accurate, the public toilets function properly, when you pick up the telephone you get a dial tone. You can even buy things from the store and then take them *back* if you change your mind. For the Third World visitor, the American supermarket is a marvel to behold: endless aisles of every imaginable product, 50 different types of cereal, multiple flavors of ice cream, countless unappreciated inventions like quilted toilet paper, fabric softener, roll-on deodorant, disposable diapers.

The immigrant cannot help noticing that America is a country where the poor live comparatively well. This fact was dramatized in the 1980s, when CBS television broadcast an anti-Reagan documentary, "People Like Us," which was intended to show the miseries of the poor during an American recession. The Soviet Union also broadcast the documentary, with the intention of embarrassing the Reagan administration. But it had the opposite effect. Ordinary people across the Soviet Union saw that the poorest Americans had television sets and cars. They arrived at the same conclusion that I witnessed in a friend of mine from Bombay who has been trying unsuccessfully to move to the United States for nearly a decade. I asked him, "Why are you so eager to come to America?" He replied, "Because I really want to live in a country where the poor people are fat."

The point is that the United States is a country where the ordinary guy has a good life. This is what distinguishes America from so many other countries. Everywhere in the world, the rich person lives well. Indeed, a good case can be made that if you are rich, you live better in countries other than America, because you enjoy the pleasures of aristocracy. In India, where I grew up, the wealthy have innumerable servants and toadies groveling before them and attending to their every need.

In the United States, on the other hand, the social ethic is egalitarian, regardless of wealth. For all his riches, Bill Gates could not approach a homeless person and say, "Here's a $100 bill. I'll give it to you if you kiss my feet." Most likely the homeless guy would tell Gates to go to hell. The American view is that the rich guy may have more money, but he isn't in any fundamental sense better than you are. The American janitor or waiter sees himself as performing a service, but he doesn't see himself as inferior to those he serves. And neither do the customers see him that way: They are generally happy to show him respect and appreciation on a plane of equality. America is the only country in the world where we call the waiter "Sir," as if he were a knight.

The moral triumph of America is that it has extended the benefits of comfort and affluence, traditionally enjoyed by very few, to a large segment of society. Very few people in America have to wonder where their next meal is coming from. Even sick people who don't have money or insurance will receive medical care at hospital emergency rooms. The poorest American girls are not humiliated by having to wear torn clothes. Every child is given an education, and most have the chance to go on to college. The common man can expect to live long enough and have enough free time to play with his grandchildren.

Ordinary Americans not only enjoy security and dignity, but also comforts that other societies reserve for the elite. We now live in a country where construction workers regularly pay $4 for a cappuccino, where maids drive nice cars, where plumbers take their families on vacation to Europe. As Irving Kristol once observed, there is virtually no restaurant in America to which a CEO can go to lunch with the absolute assurance that he will not find his secretary also dining there. Given the standard of living of the ordinary American, it is no wonder that socialist or revolutionary schemes have never found a wide constituency in the United States. As Werner Sombart observed, all socialist utopias in America have come to grief on roast beef and apple pie.

Thus it is entirely understandable that people would associate the idea of America with a better life. For them, money is not an end in itself; money is the means to a longer, healthier, and fuller life. Money allows them to purchase a level of security, dignity, and comfort not available in other countries. Money also frees up time for family life, community involvement, and spiritual pursuits, and so provides moral as well as material gains.

Yet even this offers an incomplete picture of why America is so appealing to so many outsiders. Let me illustrate with the example of my own life. Not long ago, I asked myself: What would my existence have been like had I never come to the United States, if I had stayed in India? Materially, my life has

Dinesh D'Souza, Rishwain Fellow at the Hoover Institution, is author of What's So Great About America, *forthcoming in April, from which this is adapted.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

improved, but not in a fundamental sense. I grew up in a middle-class family in Bombay. My father was a chemical engineer; my mother, an office secretary. I was raised without great luxury, but neither did I lack for anything. My standard of living in America is higher, but it is not a radical difference. My life has changed far more dramatically in other ways.

Had I remained in India, I would probably have lived my entire existence within a one-mile radius of where I was born. I would undoubtedly have married a woman of my identical religious, socioeconomic, and cultural background. I would almost certainly have become a medical doctor, an engineer, or a software programmer. I would have socialized within my ethnic community and had few real friends outside that group. I would have a whole set of opinions that could be predicted in advance; indeed, they would not be very different from what my father believed, or his father before him. In sum, my destiny would to a large degree have been given to me.

Instead, I came to Arizona in 1978 as a high-school exchange student, then a year later enrolled at Dartmouth College. There I fell in with a group of students who were actively involved in politics; soon I had switched my major from economics to English literature. My reading included books like Plutarch's *Moralia*; Hamilton, Madison, and Jay's *Federalist Papers*; and Evelyn Waugh's *Brideshead Revisited*. They transported me to places a long way from home and implanted in my mind ideas that I had never previously considered. By the time I graduated, I decided that I should become a writer. America permits many strange careers: This is a place where you can become, say, a comedian. That is very different from most places.

If there is a single phrase that encapsulates life in the Third World, it is that "birth is destiny." A great deal of importance is attached to what tribe you come from, whether you are male or female, and whether you are the eldest son or not. Once your tribe, caste, sex and family position have been established at birth, your life takes a course that is largely determined for you.

In America, by contrast, you get to write the script of your own life. When your parents say to you, "What do you want to be when you grow up?" the question is open ended, it is you who supply the answer. Your parents can advise you: "Have you considered law school?" "Why not become the first doctor in the family?" It is considered very improper, however, for them to try to force your decision. Indeed, American parents typically send their teenage children away to college where they live on their own and learn independence. This is part of the process of forming your mind, choosing a field of interest for yourself, and developing your identity.

It is not uncommon in the United States for two brothers who come from the same gene pool and were raised in similar circumstances to do quite different things: The eldest becomes a gas station attendant, the younger moves up to be vice president at Oracle; the eldest marries his high-school sweetheart and raises four kids; the youngest refuses to settle down; one is the Methodist that he was raised to be, the other becomes a Christian Scientist. What to be, where to live, whom to marry, what to believe, what religion to practice—these are all decisions that Americans make for themselves.

In America your destiny is not prescribed; it is constructed. Your life is like a blank sheet of paper and you are the artist. This notion of being the architect of your own destiny is the incredibly powerful idea that is behind the worldwide appeal of America. Young people especially find the prospect of authoring their own lives irresistible. The immigrant discovers that America permits him to break free of the constraints that have held him captive, so that the future becomes a landscape of his own choosing.

America is the only country in the world where we respectfully call the waiter "Sir." The American view is that the rich guy may have more money, but he isn't in any fundamental sense better than you are.

If there is a single phrase that captures this, it is "the pursuit of happiness." As writer V. S. Naipaul notes, "much is contained" in that simple phrase: "the idea of the individual, responsibility, choice, the life of the intellect, the idea of vocation, perfectibility, and achievement. It is an immense human idea. It cannot be reduced to a fixed system. It cannot generate fanaticism. But it is known [around the world] to exist; and because of that, other more rigid systems in the end blow away."

But where did the "pursuit of happiness" come from? And why has it come in America to mean something much more than simple selfishness? America's founders were religious men. They believed that political legitimacy derives from God. Yet they were determined not to permit theological differences to become the basis for political conflict.

The American system refused to establish a national church, instead recognizing all citizens as free to practice their own religion. From the beginning the United States was made up of numerous sects. The Puritans dominated in Massachusetts, the Anglicans in Virginia, the Catholics were concentrated in Maryland, so it was in every group's interest to "live and let live." The ingenuity of the American solution is evident in Voltaire's remark that where there is one religion, you have tyranny; where there are two, you have religious war; but where they are many, you have freedom.

One reason the American founders were able to avoid religious oppression and conflict is that they found a way to channel people's energies away from theological quarrels and into commercial activity. The American system is founded on prop-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

erty rights and trade, and *The Federalist* tells us that protection of the obtaining of property is "the first object of government." The founders reasoned that people who are working assiduously to better their condition are not likely to go around spearing their neighbors.

Capitalism gives America a this-worldly focus that allows death and the afterlife to recede from everyday view. Along with their heavenly aspirations, the gaze of the people is shifted to earthly progress. This "lowering of the sights" convinces many critics that American capitalism is a base, degraded system and that the energies that drive it are crass and immoral.

These modern critiques draw on some very old prejudices. In the ancient world, labor was generally despised. The Greeks looked down on merchants and traders as low-lifes. "The gentleman understands what is noble," Confucius writes in his *Analects*, "the small man understands what is profitable." In the Indian caste system the *vaisya* or trader occupies nearly the lowest rung of the ladder—one step up from the despised "untouchable." The Muslim historian Ibn Khaldun suggests that even gain by conquest is preferable to gain by trade, because conquest embodies the virtues of courage and manliness. In these traditions, the honorable life is devoted to philosophy or the priesthood or military valor. "Making a living" was considered a necessary, but undignified, pursuit. Far better to rout your adversary, kill the men, enslave the women and children, and make off with a bunch of loot than to improve your lot by buying and selling stuff.

Drawing on the inspiration of philosophers like John Locke and Adam Smith, the American founders altered this moral hierarchy. They argued that trade based on consent and mutual gain was preferable to plunder. The founders established a regime in which the self-interest of entrepreneurs and workers would be directed toward serving the wants and needs of others. In this view, the ordinary life, devoted to production, serving the customer, and supporting a family, is a noble and dignified endeavor. Hard work, once considered a curse, now becomes socially acceptable, even honorable. Commerce, formerly a degraded thing, now becomes a virtue.

Of course the founders recognized that in both the private and the public sphere, greedy and ambitious people can pose a danger to the well-being of others. Instead of trying to outlaw these passions, the founders attempted a different approach. As the fifty-first book of *The Federalist* puts it, "Ambition must be made to counteract ambition." In a free society, "the security for civil rights [consists] in the multiplicity of interests." The framers of the Constitution reasoned that by setting interests against each other, by making them compete, no single one could become strong enough to imperil the welfare of the whole.

In the public sphere the founders took special care to devise a system that would minimize the abuse of power. They established limited government, in order that the power of the state would remain confined. They divided authority between the national and state governments. Within the national framework, they provided for separation of powers, so that the legislature, executive, and judiciary would each have its own domain of authority. They insisted upon checks and balances, to enhance accountability.

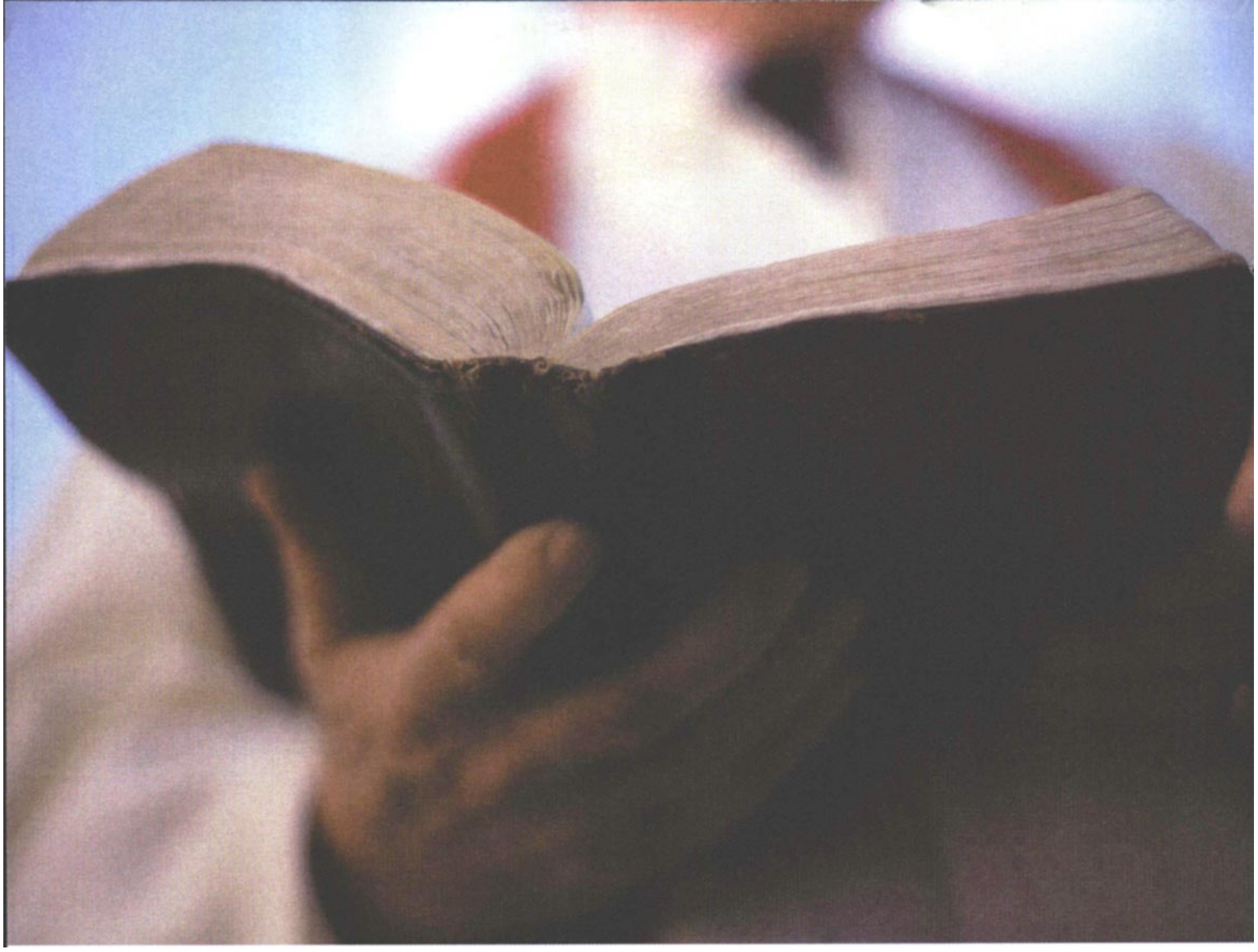
In America your destiny is not prescribed; you construct it. This chance to be the architect of your own life is the source of America's worldwide appeal.

The founders didn't ignore the importance of virtue, but they knew that virtue is not always in abundant supply. According to Christianity, the problem of the bad person is that his will is corrupted, a fault endemic to human nature. America's founders knew they could not transform human nature, so they devised a system that would thwart the schemes of the wicked and channel the energies of flawed persons toward the public good.

The experiment that the founders embarked upon more than two centuries ago has largely succeeded in achieving its goals. Tribal and religious battles such as we see in Lebanon, Mogadishu, Kashmir, and Belfast don't happen here. Whites and African Americans have lunch together. Americans of Jewish and Palestinian descent collaborate on software problems and play racquetball after work. Hindus and Muslims, Serbs and Croats, Turks and Armenians, Irish Catholics and British Protestants, all seem to have forgotten their ancestral differences and joined the vast and varied American parade. Everybody wants to "make it," to "get ahead," to "hit it big." And even as they compete, people recognize that somehow they are all in this together, in pursuit of some great, elusive American dream. In this respect America is a glittering symbol to the world.

America's founders solved two great problems which are a source of perennial misery and conflict in many other societies—the problem of scarcity, and the problem of religious and tribal conflict. They invented a new regime in which citizens would enjoy a wide range of freedoms—economic freedom, political freedom, and freedom of speech and religion—in order to shape their own lives and pursue happiness. By protecting religion and government from each other, and by directing the energies of the citizens toward trade and commerce, the American founders created a rich, dynamic, and peaceful society. It is now the hope of countless millions all across the world.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Back Toward Orthodoxy

A conservative resurgence sweeps American religion

Many Americans know that in recent decades the nation's more conservative and evangelical churches have been growing much faster than mainline faiths. What you may not know is that even within major liberal denominations of Methodism and Presbyterianism—not to mention American Judaism—there has been a backlash against theological laxity. Richard Cimino, Jeff Jacoby, and Blake Hurst report different parts of the story.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Church of Hillary Clinton and George W. Bush Takes a Step Away From Liberalism

By Richard Cimino

It has become almost an axiom of American religious life that churches and denominations that are liberal do not reverse direction and turn conservative. That rule, however, may need some revising, judging by recent developments in the Methodist church.

If there is a typical American denomination, it is the 8 million-member United Methodist Church, home to both George W. Bush and Hillary Clinton. The UMC is the construct of preachers inspired by the teachings of John Wesley stressing holy living, evangelism, and social concern. When Congregational and Presbyterian churches were settling down and losing much of their evangelistic fervor, itinerant Methodist preachers on horseback blazed through the American frontier establishing outposts for the faith, combining a passion for saving lost souls with "circuit riding" entrepreneurial skills.

As with its predecessors, the Methodist revival fires died down by the nineteenth century as congregations and clergy became an established part of American society. The church followed other mainline bodies in opening its doors to historical criticism of the Bible and the questioning of traditional teachings. Along with more liberal theology the denomination took on a bureaucratized leadership to steer its widening involvement in social action.

By the 1960s, Vietnam War opposition, the civil rights movement, and the feminist revolution all reverberated strongly in the denomination's seminaries and headquarters, if not among most members. Supporters of liberalization said they were making the Christian message relevant to tumultuous times. Critics warned that the church, like many other mainline denominations, was losing its theological bearings, letting secular movements and ideologies set the agenda for it. The church began experiencing sharp membership declines, which continued through the '90s.

Since the mid 1960s, there have been groups like the "Good News" movement protesting liberal dominance of the UMC. But it took over 30 years for the conservative backlash to gain a strong foothold within the denomination. The turn back toward orthodoxy became evident during the 2000 General Conference, as delegates representing the entire church turned back resolutions supporting same-sex unions, firmed up church theology proclaiming Christ the savior of the world, and even voiced opposition to partial-birth abortion—an unusual move for a church that has been firmly in the pro-choice camp.

"There was a level of disgust toward the bureaucracy [among the laity], and the feeling that liberal elites had too much influence," said Dr. Thomas Oden, a United Methodist theologian at Drew University Theological School. He views the recent turn not so much as a conservative revival as an attempt by evangelicals, moderates, and others to bring the leadership "back to the center, refocusing on classical Wesleyan Christianity." The new centrist trend is not likely to be reversed at the next convention in 2004, since it is driven by dynamics that have been churning under the surface of denominational life for nearly three decades.

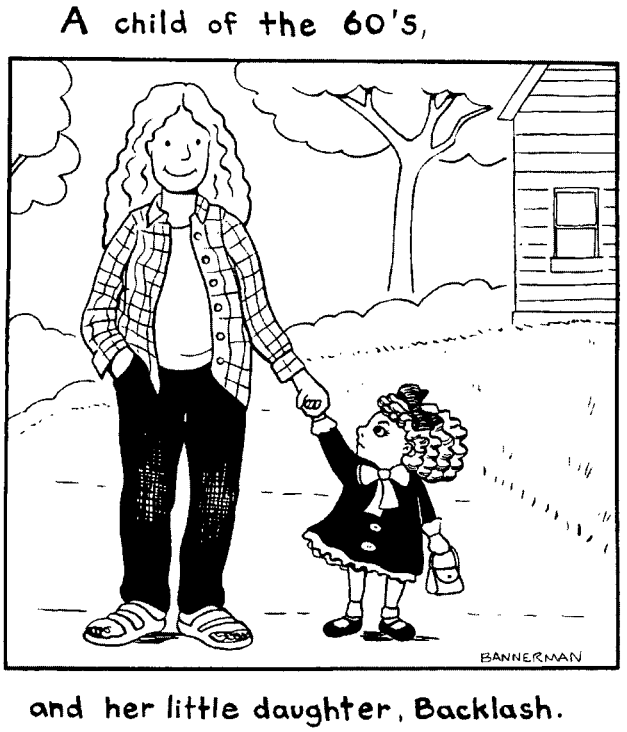
The conservative resurgence reflects a long-term change in demography. In effect, the George W. Bush wing of United Methodism—evangelical, often Southern, and rooted in churches that are stable or growing in population—is overtaking the Northern, liberal church that nourished the social activism of Hillary Clinton, while steadily losing rank-and-file members. This shift was seen at the General Conference, where delegates were reapportioned for the 2004 gathering. Representatives had to be subtracted from the declining West and Northeast and added for the stable or growing Southern and overseas churches. This new pattern of delegates will almost certainly stymie further attempts to liberalize the church in the years ahead.

Young evangelical pastors are jump-starting declining churches, reversing membership losses through a revival of stricter standards and more rigorous theology.

Another factor for the conservative renaissance is the expansion and new sophistication of Methodist "renewal" groups. Evangelical activists in the so-called Confessing Movement, for instance, have organized conferences throughout the country. In their recent book *Acts of Faith*, sociologists Rodney Stark and Roger Finke find that Methodist congregations affiliated with renewal groups have far higher rates of growth and usually have younger pastors. In a study of a renewal group in Indiana, Stark and Finke found that these young evangelical pastors tend to jump-start declining churches, reversing losses of membership and funding. Congregations with evangelical pastors of any age were able to cut their membership losses almost by half.

Stark and Finke believe that a reversal to stricter standards and less lax theology is now under way in a number of American religious bodies—from Roman Catholic to Southern Baptist. Groups are emerging that demand higher commitments from church members, including more tithing, loyal attendance, and accountable personal behavior. These higher "costs of belonging" also generate benefits that liberal churches usually don't provide, such a strong communal identity and close bonds of fellowship.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



A full-blown conservative reversal in the United Methodist Church will not take place without a good deal of struggle. The national offices, such as the Boards of Global Ministry and Social Concerns, as well as many bishops in the denomination, still strongly reflect the liberal side of the spectrum. This could be seen in the opposition among some Methodist officials to the U.S. response in Afghanistan after September 11. Evangelicals have tended to shy away from "getting their hands dirty in the the bureaucracy," and instead "concentrated on building churches and conducting outreach," says the Rev. Ira Gallaway, associate director of the Confessing Movement.

The inclination of Methodist liberals to resist any further reorientation of the denomination was evident at a November 2000 meeting in New York City sponsored by Union Theological Seminary and the Institute on Democracy, a leftist think tank. Liberal leaders of both the United Methodist Church and the Presbyterian Church USA (which has undergone a very similar grassroots backlash, with local presbyteries voting down efforts to ordain gay pastors and sanction homosexual unions), complained that conservative renewal groups are engaging in "religious cleansing" against their denominations. They recounted stories of pastors pressured by renewalists, and left-wing headquarters staffers losing their jobs.

The religious Left is correct in fearing that their "enormous power" in mainline denominations is being "slowed and halted," according to Diane Knippers of the conservative Institute for Religion and Democracy. The renewal groups are less a politicized Right, however, than the evangelical heirs of a tradition of religious activism that was long a hallmark of the United Methodist Church and other mainline bodies. It is now the conservatives who are showing up in force at church conventions and making their voices heard, much as their opponents on the left did during the 1970s and '80s.

In one delicious irony, the liberal dream of an "inclusive" and "multicultural" church is now coming back to haunt them. The United Methodist Church is a worldwide body, and the conference encompassing Africa, Asia, and other overseas churches—which is growing faster than any other region—is also the most evangelical and theologically conservative in the denomination. Third World Methodists, with little taste for gay marriage, abortion, and other left-wing social causes, are likely to serve as a powerful orthodox voting bloc at all future General Conferences.

Richard Cimino, editor of Religion Watch *(www.religionwatch.com), is author of* Trusting the Spirit: Renewal and Reform in American Religion.

Traditional Judaism Roars Back

By Jeff Jacoby

For much of the twentieth century, traditional Judaism in America appeared to be a hopeless cause. Nearly one million Jewish immigrants arrived in the United States between 1899 and 1910, but only 305 of them were rabbis. An editorial in *The American Hebrew* during that period lamented that many Jews never set foot in a synagogue except on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur—the result of "religious indifference" and "spiritual deadness."

On the eve of America's entry into World War I, there were 3.5 million Jews in America, but only five religious day schools. Only one American Jew in three belonged to a synagogue in 1930, and three fourths of Jewish children received no religious education. Kosher butchers served a tiny clientele. As late as 1955, one prominent sociologist saw Orthodox Judaism in America as "a case study of institutional decay."

Yet half a century later, religious Judaism in America is thriving. *Yeshiva* schools exist in major cities nationwide. The number of Jewish day schools has exploded from five in 1917 to nearly 700 today. And though they account for only 10 percent of American Jews, the Orthodox exert great influence on Jewish culture, politics, and commerce.

"The Orthodox renaissance stands as the most striking and unexpected phenomenon in modern American Jewish history," writes Columbia University professor Samuel Freedman in his absorbing new book *Jew vs. Jew*. That renaissance has had countless effects, from the vast array of classic Jewish texts now available in English translation to the abundance of kosher foods that can be found in any American supermarket. However, it has also launched a struggle that pits secularist against believer, liberal against conservative, traditionalist against modernist, within each branch of Judaism.

"Jewishness as ethnicity, as folk culture, as something separate and divisible from religion, is ceasing to exist in any mean-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ingful way," Freedman concludes. "In the struggle for the soul of American Jewry, the Orthodox model has triumphed.... The portion of American Jewry that will flourish in the future...is the portion that has accepted the central premise of Orthodoxy—that religion defines Jewish identity."

Jeff Jacoby is a columnist for the Boston Globe. *This is adapted from a review in the Winter 2002 issue of* Azure.

Conservatives Try to Sail the Southern Baptists Into New Waters

By Blake Hurst

The old joke goes like this: When you have a single Baptist, you have a church. Two Baptists, an argument; and when you have three Baptists, you have two churches. I was baptized a Southern Baptist at age 7, and a lifetime in the Baptist faith has given me no reason to doubt the kernel of truth contained in that story. As Timothy George, dean of the divinity school at Samford University, states, Baptists have always been "fractious and fissiparous folk."

The Orthodox renaissance stands as the most striking and unexpected phenomenon in modern American Jewish history. The portion of Jewry that will flourish in the future are the religious traditionalists.

Now the Baptists are at it again. A struggle that has been underway within the church since the 1960s is reaching a culmination. Conservatives won the presidency of the national organization, the Southern Baptist Convention, in 1979. Since then, they have consolidated their position in the states, and in other Baptist organizations.

One of the unusual precepts of the Southern Baptist faith is the autonomy of individual churches. Baptist congregations hire and fire their own preachers, and have in the past been in charge of most decisions about what to believe and how to conduct their business. That is changing, as the Convention provides more direct guidance to individual churches. In the view of conservatives, that guidance is necessary, as the Convention was drifting toward the sort of mushy relativism that let mainline denominations fade in membership and clout. Former president of the Missouri Southern Baptists, conservative Bob Collins of Kansas City, points out that Baptists are a rare instance of a large group shifting back to conservatism after drifting left—making them an exception to the maxim of UPI's John O'Sullivan that any group not expressly conservative will be edged into liberalism by social forces.

One main focus of today's Baptist controversy lies in two different interpretations of the Bible. Collins describes it this way: The liberals believe that the word of God is in the Bible, while the conservatives believe the Bible is the word of God. That difference leads to a corollary, according to Collins. Conservatives believe that Jesus is the only way to salvation, while liberals believe he is one way. Other issues that have given energy to the conservative Baptist backlash include family and sexuality issues, opposition to salacious and violent pop culture, and other social issues.

The folks who fill the pews at my local church and the other 41,000 congregations that make up the Southern Baptist Convention spend little time following the controversies in the seminaries, speculating over Biblical inerrancy, or even debating social issues. But the theological divisions are real enough. The Baptist General Convention of Texas, some 2.7 million strong (out of 16 million Southern Baptists total), has protested the rightward shift by withholding funding from some Baptist organizations and seminaries. The Cooperative Baptist Fellowship, which counts 1,800 congregations as members, includes some churches that have left the Convention altogether.

Russell Moore, who covered a recent convention of the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship for the Baptist Press, reports that "The exhibit hall at the convention included a 'resource for congregations' arguing that gay sex is biblical [and that] same-sex marriage is a matter of social justice to be supported by Baptists." The convention offered a service where "ministers dressed in white robes led the packed-in congregants in New Age Celtic music and silent, mystical contemplation of the mystery of the ocean depths, as a bell plaintively gonged in the background."

Like other congregations, Baptists have disagreements about the role of the church in public life. The tradition has been to avoid political involvement, as politics was seen as corrupting. Baptists are reminded that Roger Williams founded their church in the seventeenth century in reaction against state sponsored religion. But the ability to remain aloof from politics and society was doomed by changes in American culture. As moderate conservative Baptist pastor Glenn Scott illustrates, when cable television started bringing all Americans what used to be contained on 42nd Street in New York City, churches felt they had to react.

Attempts by conservative Baptists to get involved in the culture wars have been controversial. The church urged Baptists to boycott Disney attractions on account of the company's liberality on sexual issues. It counseled wives to submit graciously to "the servant leadership" of husbands. It made its disdain for Bill Clinton very obvious. It has strongly opposed gay marriage and the ordination of women. All this inspired the most famous Southern Baptist of all, Jimmy Carter, to leave the church in the fall of 2000.

Blake Hurst is a TAE *contributing writer.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

State of the Nation

Our authors are:

Joel Kotkin

Michael Cox

Allan Carlson

Charles Murray

Karlyn Bowman

Ken Von Kohorn

Ron Haskins

David Murray

William Frey

Every decade, the U.S. Bureau of the Census takes our nation's pulse. These detailed results complement other findings gathered through the year by private and government data collectors, providing a vivid picture of where our society is headed. With most census results now out, we thought this an opportune time to review America's long-term health. Following are nine essays in which experts describe some of the important things—both positive and negative—we've learned recently about how the U.S. is faring deep in its bones and muscles.

Americans Settle Down

By Joel Kotkin

Michael Chambers is precisely the kind of young man one expects to meet in places like Silicon Valley or Austin, Texas. At 27, the microbiology and biotechnology graduate is building his own, already profitable, company. But Chambers has started Aldevron, which produces plasma for DNA therapies, not in one of the traditional metropolitan technology centers, but in his home state of North Dakota. Nor is he alone. Literally hundreds of tech companies have emerged, including software giant Great Plains Software and biotech leader Pracs, here in bustling Fargo, the hub of Cass County, home to some 120,000 people.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In our digital age, the long-term prospects for any place will be defined by the quality of its workforce. That is a big plus for Fargo. Chambers notes that North Dakota has some of the most diligent workers as well as finest public schools in the nation. Science test scores are second in the country, and the state is sixth in the percentage of young people holding bachelor's degrees.

Yet like many who make their home in Fargo, Chambers' reasons for remaining in North Dakota have more to do with lifestyle choices than business considerations. "My family is here," states the young scientist, who grew up in a family of beekeepers in Carrington, a rural North Dakota hamlet of 2,500. Plus "the cost of living is low, people are nice, and, most important, it is a community."

For Mike Chambers, community trumps all those factors that have lured millions of Americans to the bright lights of New York, Los Angeles, or Dallas. He was searching for a place that would be not just a residence and business base, but a home, a place to raise a family, a place in which to participate in a larger spiritual and communal experience.

Churches are well-attended in Fargo, and this was part of the area's allure for Chambers. He is one of many sophisticated Americans who can speak matter-of-factly about faith as an important part of their lives. Chambers sees no conflict between the employment of technology to solve human problems and his commitment to Christian beliefs. "I think the technologies are of God," he explains. "Man has been given the ability to decipher these technologies."

The longstanding American impulse to move is declining, and at the same time our destinations are changing. We are gradually becoming more rooted.

The growth in Fargo, and in scores of other communities like it across America, may reflect the reversal of a trend. Traditionally, one of the essences of the American experience was that individuals anxious for personal and financial success would sacrifice other aspects of their lives, such as home and family, by heading to a big city to realize their economic dreams. Instead of this restless uprooting of past decades, however, we may now be entering a post-nomadic era, where even the most ambitious people will tend more to stay put.

The events of September 11 are only likely to accelerate this existing trend. Business executives, concerned about safety, have become decidedly less anxious to locate within urban cores. "If you're looking for a new Chicago location, I don't think you'll be tempted by the hundredth floor of the Sears tower," suggests Matt Walton, president of E-Team, a provider of internet-based security and disaster services.

This search for safe havens has earlier precedents. For decades, middle-class Americans have fled inner cities—which, by nature, accentuate the nomadic characteristics of anonymity, restless careerism, lack of faith, and impermanence—in favor of suburbs which attempt to recreate some of the atmosphere of small towns. Today, three out of four whites in America's largest metropolitan regions live in suburbs.

More fundamentally, both population and job growth have, since 1950, been moving inexorably from the most densely settled regions of the country to less dense areas. Deconcentration has been most profound, according to a recent study by the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia, in the Northeast and Midwest, the traditional home of the nation's thickest urban corridors.

Despite the urban "renaissance" of the 1990s, the trend toward deconcentration and toward smaller communities continued during the last decade. For every three suburban households who moved to the city, five urban households departed for the suburbs, with the fastest growth rates in the most peripheral suburbs. This is not, as sometimes claimed, the fault of government officials in cahoots with developers and highway builders, but a matter of choice. A 1997 survey found that less than one in ten Americans wanted to live in a major city. Even racial minorities are opting more and more to move to smaller communities.

More powerful population deconcentration seems likely in the future. The bursting of the dot-com bubble has weakened the economies of many of the most successfully revived cities, notably New York, San Francisco, Seattle, and Boston. Recent rises in urban crime in places like Los Angeles, Chicago, and Houston may also re-fuel a shift to smaller, more secure communities.

And it's not just our destinations that are changing, but the impulse to move itself. Demographer William Frey notes that Americans are gradually becoming more settled. In the 1970s, more than 20 percent of Americans moved each year. A decade ago it was over 18 percent. Today it is barely 15 percent. As a population ages, it tends to become less mobile. Most baby boomers, Frey suggests, are likely to "age in place."

This trend toward staying put springs from attitudinal shifts. Researchers have found that Americans are giving growing priority to a feeling of "community." There was evidence even before September 11 of a greater commitment to family life, neighborhood health, and church participation. The popularity of New Traditionalist communities in some suburban areas and the revival of many smaller towns around the country give physical evidence of the emergence of these priorities.

There is strong evidence that many Americans are seeking a less frantic style of living. A 1995 survey by the Merck Family Fund found that 28 percent of the U.S. adult population had

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

already "downshifted" their lifestyles; 62 percent said they wanted to take steps to "simplify" their days. Baby boomers in particular are showing interest in what could be described as small-town values. Since the early '80s, boomers have gradually increased their church and synagogue attendance. Even many who are not conventional Christians or Jews show strong interest in spiritual matters. Ideas of what is most relevant in life, and in what sort of community one should pursue these priorities, are clearly changing.

The events of September 11 seem likely to reinforce these trends. With air travel down as much as 30 percent in some areas, Americans are staying closer to home. People are not giving up on recreation, but they are re-directing their activities to nearer venues and hometown attractions. Some of this shift to localism will be enduring.

The long-term decline in nomadism, compounded by more recent reductions in holiday wanderlust, will hurt some areas. According to a recent Milken Institute study, cities with high per capita concentrations of airport employment, such as Miami, Dallas-Fort Worth, and Tucson, will suffer the most. Economies that have flourished due to hotel businesses, such as Atlantic City and Las Vegas, and amusement centers such as Orlando, New Orleans, and Anaheim in California's Orange County, are also highly vulnerable.

Old-fashioned local entertainment is back. The San Fernando Valley Fair in Southern California doubled its attendance last fall. The Texas State Fair broke all records this past October. In New York City, attendance at tourist-dominated restaurants, institutions, and Broadway theaters has dropped significantly, according to recent surveys by the Center for an Urban Future, while establishments more dependent on local clientele, such as the Queens Zoo, city libraries, and local repertory theaters, have enjoyed increased business.

Private entrepreneurs report similar patterns across the country. Sam King, president of a restaurant chain with roughly 1,000 employees throughout southern California, reports that sales are off significantly in tourist-oriented Santa Monica and downtown San Diego, but are going well at restaurants located in residential neighborhoods like Calabasas and Irvine, as well as in business-oriented downtowns.

Developers, investors, and owners may be tempted to dismiss these phenomena as temporary, even illusory. Certainly, once the fear caused by the September 11 attacks subsides, Americans will return to travel and tourism in force. Still, a close look at long-term demographic and geographic trends, attitudinal surveys, and the opportunities that new telecommunications technologies provide for "stationary flexibility" suggest that city-centric, nomadic living patterns may be on the wane.

One beneficiary could be the "meat loaf" communities—comforting small-town vicinities that boast local recreational and cultural assets. These can be found all across the country, particularly in places like New England, eastern Ohio, northern California, Oregon, and the small-city South. New communities that appeal to "post-nomadic" businesses and individuals may also be constructed—in ways that provide easy access to local cultural, civic, retail, educational, employment, and entertainment facilities, as well as high-speed telecommunications links to the wider world. One example can be seen in the Newhall Land Company's developments in the Valencia area of California—which stress an accessible town center, a strong link between working districts and residential areas, and an advanced fiber optic network. Newhall's sales have continued to soar, executives report, even in the midst of the current recession.

The gradual easing of baby boomers into retirement, during which there will be an extended blending of leisure and work, is likely to further favor a shift toward settled, non-urban community life. Within this decade, one quarter of the U.S. workforce will be 50 or older, and these prime-agers and seniors will control the majority of the nation's wealth. Many of these people have no reason to put up with the long commutes of suburbia or the hassles of center-city living.

Surveys find that less than one in ten Americans wants to live in a major city. Even racial minorities are opting to move to smaller communities.

In any case, the overall pattern of U.S. population growth has shifted, for the first time in generations, toward smaller communities. According to the 2000 census, the number of whites moving to the rural periphery leapt by 70 percent over the last decade—the largest single migration of America's white population—while suburban households grew by roughly half that percentage.

Even in the Great Plains, where depopulation has been taking place for decades, communities such as Fargo are now showing signs of vigor. Having stagnated after World War II, Plains cities like Fargo, Sioux City, and Omaha are now rebounding sharply. Growth in Plains towns of more than 20,000 people soared by over 8 percent during the 1990s, more than four times the rate of the 1980s.

Fargo, whose population grew by 20 percent in the 1990s, also enjoyed robust growth in wages, and, critically, saw its population of young people (20 to 34, as well as those under 17), rise by about 10 percent (even as surrounding smaller communities continued to decline). "There's more opportunity here now," technology entrepreneur Chambers believes. "People are starting to stay."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The success of places like Fargo suggests more than a shift in geography. It represents hope for a future of new, sustainable hometowns. After generations of Americans heading off to chase opportunity, opportunity is now brought home to Americans where they already live and want to stay. Aided by demographic trends, new technology, and a growing hunger for stability and permanence, the twenty-first century could end up producing not an accelerated version of the lifestyle of the twentieth century, but rather a return to the more pastoral, community-based patterns associated with the nineteenth century.

"Even the smallest town is wired now. Living in a small community is not about being remote. It's about choosing to live in a place that makes sense from a personal point of view," Chambers explains. "For a lot of people, North Dakota reaches into the past—it provides a sense of security. But it is also about reaching for the future."

Joel Kotkin, author of The New Geography, *is a fellow at Pepperdine University's Davenport Institute and at the Milken Institute.*

Jobs Become More Rewarding

By W. Michael Cox

When discussing America's prosperity, we usually focus on rising incomes and all the gadgets and gizmos that middle-class families cram into their homes. Often overlooked—but just as dramatic—is the steady progress in the way we work.

With each passing generation, Americans reap more of life's satisfactions directly through their actual work, not just in their job's monetary and material compensation. Simply put, today's offices, factories, and other job sites are more pleasant, more stimulating, more flexible, and safer than ever before. The work, while still work, is becoming less tedious and physically demanding.

Better working conditions are one of capitalism's most important success stories. For the most part, modern work takes place in a clean, well-lighted, and air-conditioned environment, a far cry from the Industrial Age's noisy, smelly, dirty workplaces, freezing cold in the winter, stifling hot in the summer.

A growing number of modern workplaces offer on-the-job amenities previous generations couldn't even contemplate. More and more employees receive family leave, personal days, exercise facilities, health insurance, stock purchase plans, profit sharing, educational benefits, and paid sabbaticals. Business travel and conferences generally take place in interesting places, under extremely comfortable conditions. Sport shirts and slacks are in; ties and pantyhose are out.

More Americans than ever are free to choose their own time and place for work—as long as the job gets done. In 1997, 28 percent of Americans worked on flexible schedules, double the 14 percent in 1985. With laptop computers, cell phones, fax machines, electronic mail, and the Internet, fewer employees are tethered to the office. Telecommuting began with a handful of workers three decades ago. By 2001, 29 million Americans worked at least part of the time away from their companies' offices.

Fully 80 to 90 percent of American workers now say they are satisfied with their jobs.

The tyranny of timeclocks is largely over. According to University of Michigan studies, a typical employee spends more than an hour a day engaged in something other than assigned work. We chat with co-workers, run errands, make personal phone calls, and surf the Internet. (At the same time, work is also more often conducted after hours on personal time.)

Work isn't just more pleasant; it's also safer. Occupational injuries and illnesses are at an all-time low of 61 per 1,000 workers. The number of Americans killed on the job has tumbled to a record low of 38 per million workers, down from 87 in 1990, and 214 in 1960. Safer workplaces stem in part from fewer accidents in dangerous occupations such as construction and manufacturing, as well as a shift in our economic base toward services and other less risky jobs.

The very nature of the work we do is changing, too. For most Americans in past generations, long days on the job involved tasks that were repetitive, physically exhausting, and often dangerous. Modern work is more likely to require analytical and interpersonal skills, so fewer employees are making their livings with their backs and hands.

Jobs Rated Almanac 2001 provides a handy database of 300 occupations, ranked from best to worst. To focus on working conditions rather than pay, wages are taken out of the equation. It's clear our employment base is shifting in a congenial direction: Since 1970, the 30 best jobs—including computer scientist, legal assistant, and engineer—have risen from 9 percent to 13 percent of total employment. At the same time, the 30 worst occupations—from logger to textile-mill worker—declined from 13 percent to 9 percent of all jobs.

The trend toward better jobs is likely to continue. In its current outlook for the upcoming decade, the Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates that the 30 best jobs will grow to 27 percent of total employment, while the 30 worst jobs will continue to shrink to under 7 percent.

The improvement in working conditions hasn't come at the expense of pay or time off. Average real hourly compensation—

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

wages plus benefits, adjusted for inflation—increased 187 percent from 1947 to 2001. At the same time, the average work week shrank 15 percent, not counting the ten vacation days and holidays added over the past half century.

Workers have come a long, long way as America has shifted from an agrarian to an industrial to an information economy. The progress is rarely acknowledged, though. Popular culture paints an image of beleaguered workers like the "Dilbert" drones who are trapped in stifling cubicles amid outrageous corporate stupidity, a fear of layoffs, and grinding work loads. Though funny, that's not really how most of us see our work lives. In various surveys, 80 to 90 percent of American workers now say they're satisfied with their jobs.

interest. They realize that taking care of workers will pay off on the bottom line. Companies on *Fortune* magazine's 2001 list of the 100 best places to work turned out to be very productive places—producing a ten-year shareholder return of 36 percent, double the average of the Standard & Poor's 500.

Some observers assume that government agencies, with their contending regulations, are responsible for easing the risks and burdens of work. Others may credit labor unions. But history shows that, while government and unions play their roles, they aren't the ultimate sources of progress in the workplace. They don't foot the bill for changes that benefit employees. The money that ultimately makes all these improvements possible comes from the firm, specifically from the increased productivity that the processes of competitive free enterprise generate.

In 2000, a record 1,345,917 babies—33 percent of all new births—were to unmarried women.

Better working conditions aren't the result of good corporate intentions, labor power, or government policies. They're a byproduct of the high productivity, wide individual choice, and fierce competition that characterize contemporary America—the same economic forces that have delivered the gains in income and consumption we're enjoying. In a free-enterprise economy, progress occurs as a matter of course, as new technology, improved skills, and superior management allow workers to produce more with less time and effort.

Workers can take advantage of their productivity gains in a variety of ways. In the early years of the Industrial Age, we preferred more consumption. As we grew richer in terms of goods and services, we chose more leisure time. Now, we're shifting our preferences toward better working conditions.

The evolution of what Americans want from their labor echoes the work of American psychologist Abraham Maslow, who devised the famous triangle that ranks human needs from mere survival at the bottom to "self-actualization" at the top. As a rich society with our basic needs satisfied, we can turn our attention to fresher coffee and more meaningful work.

But of course desires aren't fulfilled automatically. The hopes and dreams of Americans for better working conditions are becoming reality specifically because companies must compete for labor. When they improve their work environments, employers are more easily able to attract and retain the most productive workers. Companies that fail to keep pace suffer as key workers leave for places that do.

The tight labor market of the past six or seven years has given workers an especially large measure of power. Employers competing for scarce workers will do what's necessary to attract them—be it offering flexible hours or relenting on jacket-and-tie dress codes. They do this not out of altruism, but self-

Companies improve working conditions because they can afford to, not simply because workers, unions, or government agencies demand it. The dismal work environments in now-defunct socialist nations—supposedly designed to benefit the worker—provide a powerful testament to the fact that good intentions are hollow without the ability to pay.

After a record-setting decade-long boom, the United States slipped into recession in early 2001. In the short term, progress in improving working conditions probably has slowed somewhat as workers have lost a bit of their bargaining power. In the modern age, though, recessions are brief and relatively rare. Very likely this one will run true to form, and give way soon to a new spurt of growth. As our economy recovers, competition will return to the labor market and the long-term trend toward better working conditions will resume.

In an economy dominated by technology and human talent, work will improve in myriad ways. More and more everyday companies will offer the perks now found only at the best jobs. More of us will find employers who are flexible with schedules and open to telecommuting.

The promise of the future even includes the prospect of bridging the divide that opened with the Industrial Revolution. Most of us still separate our lives into time we spend at work, and time for family, friends, and fun. The future of work will allow us to re-create a balance between work and leisure, between jobs and home lives. History will not so much repeat as reverse itself. The workplace will nurture and value employees as human beings.

W. Michael Cox, chief economist at the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas, is co-author, with Richard Alm, of Myths of Rich and Poor.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The U.S. Population Boom

By Allan Carlson

In 1900, the great powers of the world numbered five: France, Germany, Russia, the United Kingdom, and a newcomer—the United States of America. The next hundred years saw these basic demographic changes:

Nation	1900 population	2000 population	Increase
France	39 million	59 million	52%
Germany	56 million	82 million	46
Russia	138 million	144 million	4
United Kingdom	42 million	59 million	42
United States	76 million	281 million	270

In the year 2000, there remained only one great power—the United States of America. Perhaps these figures are crude proof that demography is, indeed, destiny.

The source of the American difference was twofold. First, the United States was open to "fresh blood" in a manner unlike any of the once-great powers. Between 1900 and 1914, the United States received 14 million immigrants; between 1981 and 1996, another 14 million arrived. For the whole century, the number taken in was 50 million, nearly the size of 1900 Germany. This strategy was risky, and there were several times when the assimilation process seemed about to be overwhelmed. All the same, this importation of new people, energy, ambitions, and ideas gave the United States the dynamism that makes it unique.

The second source of America's demographic difference was domestic in origin: The U.S. was the only great power to produce a large and sustained Baby Boom. Between 1940 and 1964, our marriage rate climbed, the average age of first marriage fell to a record low, and the fertility rate leapt upward by an astounding 67 percent. If we take 1940 fertility rates as a baseline, the Baby Boom brought us about 25 million additional babies during this time. Another "boomlet" returned in the 1980s and 1990s, as the U.S. total fertility rate rose again, by 18 percent, yielding another "people bonus" about 14 million strong. America's friendliness toward procreation, even if diminished since 1964, remains stronger than among the other advanced nations, and is critical to our national strength.

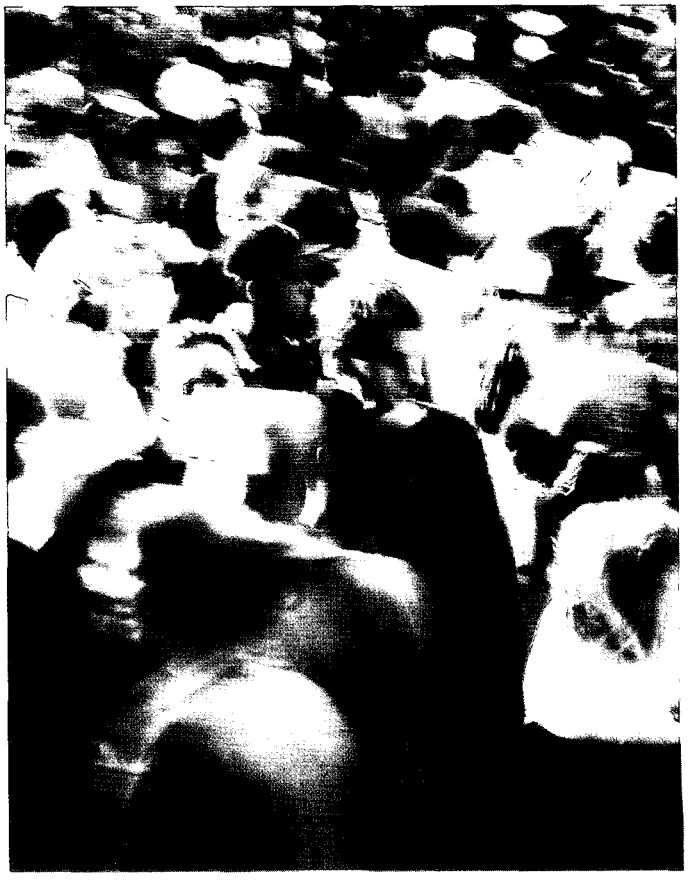
Our mid-century Baby Boom occurred primarily among suburbanites. Harvard sociologist Carle Zimmerman effused in 1960 that America had produced "an entirely new class of people, neither rural nor urban. They live in the country but have nothing to do with agriculture," and they were fertile. "Never before in history have a free, urban, and sophisticated people made a positive change in the birth rate as have our American people this generation," gushed Zimmerman.

In 1900, Germany was the center of the world in terms of music, science, and military prestige; the United Kingdom dominated in naval power and finance; France was the capital of art and language; and Russia led in natural resources and demographic momentum. In the year 2000 there was but one center—the U.S.—in all of these areas. The twentieth century clearly was "The American Century."

But by the time of the 2000 census, America's demographic news was not all rosy. In 1957, only 5 percent of U.S. births (202,000 babies) were to unmarried mothers. In 2000, that number was a record 1,345,917—33 percent of all births. Indeed, the Baby Boomlet of the 1980s and 1990s was the result of out-of-wedlock births. Our *marital* fertility rate dropped from 162 births (per 1,000 married women in fertile ages) in 1957 to 94 in 1990, and 93 in 2000.

It is hard to be optimistic about the life prospects of the great new cohort of largely fatherless American children. All the evidence suggests that they are much less likely to do well in school or work, and much more likely to be physically and mentally afflicted, imprisoned, and abused. Simply put, they are less of an asset—or more of a problem—than earlier infusions of new life into America.

More broadly, we see an accelerating American retreat from marriage. Between 1970 and 2000, the median age at first marriage increased from 20.8 years to 25.1 for women; and from 23.2 to 26.8 for men. Single living and cohabitation have soared in popularity: "Unmarried-partner households," barely noticeable in 1970, numbered 5.5 million in 2000, more than 5 percent of total households, and are on the rise.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The America of 1900, of 1950, and of 1970 was a family-centered nation, focused on marriage-based homes and children. The America of 2000 is moving toward a post-family order, much like that found in the social democracies of Europe. Even among married-couple families there has been a shift away from family-centered life. The income ratio between families where both husband and wife are working vs. families where the wife is raising children or making a home has shifted dramatically over the last 50 years in favor of the dual income. Yet mothers committed to full-time paying careers are much less likely to have the time, energy, and will to invest in multiple children: one, perhaps; occasionally two, if the workplace incentives are family-friendly and generous; but rarely a third.

It is families of three children or more that serve as the engines of natural population growth, and under prevailing conditions, the United States will probably not see many of them in the years ahead. In 2000, only 10 percent of American households had five or more members. The desperate Europeans have already experimented with myriad ways to induce working moms to have that third child: from generous paid leave to lavish day-care subsidies to cash bonuses. So far, nothing has worked. Indeed, it is getting harder in countries like Germany, France, and Italy to secure even the first child, and those nations are now in danger of serious depopulation.

Can America import family life? The truth is that our marriage and fertility numbers in the 1980s and 1990s—weak as they are—have already been pumped up by the "family values" of new Latin American and Asian immigrants. But the effect does not seem to last much longer than a generation. Very soon, immigrants look just like other Americans in family life.

Unless we recover our own commitment to stronger families built on economically sound and child-rich marriages, the United States will most likely join the list of nations in demographic decay by the time of the census of 2100. If demography is destiny, the first American Century may be the last.

Allan Carlson is president of the Howard Center for Family, Religion, and Society. His most recent book is The New Agrarian Mind.

Family Decay Hurts Equality

By Charles Murray

Americans hate the idea of social classes. Accordingly, we try to pretend we don't have any. Up to 80 percent of survey respondents in our country will tell an interviewer that they are in the "middle class." Being middle class is in some sense part of being a real American.

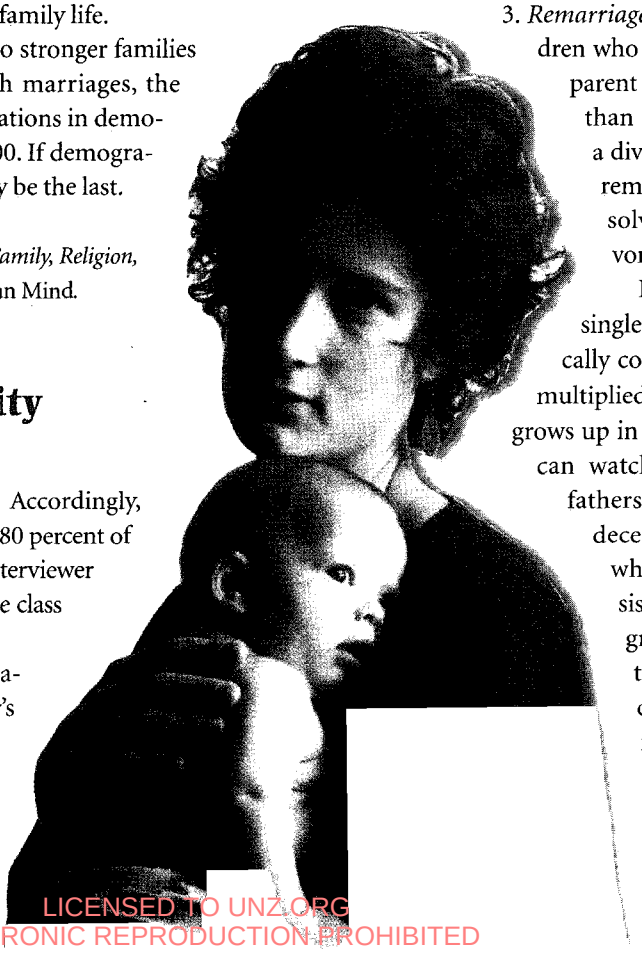
One of the factors sustaining our identification with the middle class has been this country's extraordinary social mobility—while your Dad worked in a factory, you have a corner office. Another link has been our common socialization. The towns and small cities in which most Americans used to live threw everyone into the same pot. Even in larger towns, the size of the very well-off and very poor populations were small enough that intermingling in schools and social life was inevitable.

Today, however, America is coalescing into stratified classes. One reason is that the information revolution is creating unprecedented advantages for the intelligent. But there is another big reason for thinking that social classes are going to be a fact of life in twenty-first-century America: the tie between class and family structure.

The importance of the married two-parent family is no longer in question. Serious observers on both left and right now agree on basic points.

1. *Single-parenthood is bad for children.* It's not just that single-parent families tend to be poorer; the lack of a father in the home is bad for the emotional, intellectual, even physical well-being of children. Children growing up in single-parent families get into more trouble with the law, do worse in school, have higher incidences of drug abuse and psychological disorders, and are less successful as adults. These outcomes persist even after the effects of race, family income, and parental education are taken into account.

2. *The most damaging form of single parenthood is the family headed by a never-married woman.* As scholars have assessed the outcomes of single parenthood for children, they have found a hierarchy. Statistically, children do best when raised by both biological parents, next best if raised by a divorced mother, and worst if raised by a never-married mother.



3. *Remarriage doesn't help much.* Children who grow up with a remarried parent fare only marginally better than children growing up with a divorced mother who doesn't remarry. Remarriage does not solve the problems that divorce causes for children.

It also appears that when single parenthood is geographically concentrated, the effects are multiplied. If a boy without a father grows up in a neighborhood where he can watch other males acting as fathers and spouses, he has a decent chance of knowing what those roles entail. His sister has a decent chance of growing up with the expectation that she should have children only within marriage, and of knowing what a good father and husband looks like. But

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

put those same children in a neighborhood where good fathers are hard to find and the odds that they will be socialized to responsible norms plummet breathtakingly.

While illegitimacy and divorce are more common today in all parts of society than they were in the past, certain social classes have been wracked much more than others. The accompanying graph shows that low-income households with children are far less likely to be headed by married parents than upper income households. If a two-parent family is one of the more important advantages any child can have, the pattern captured in this graph suggests the rich are about to get richer while the poor are about to get poorer.

Before accepting that grim outcome, let's plumb the data a little more deeply. In what follows I will explore the relationship of income to family structure, extracted from a classic government database called the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY), and apply those findings to the latest (2000) figures released by the U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Let's start by looking at divorce. Perhaps the various economic classes all experience similar levels of divorce and it's just that people in the top income groups remarry more often than those at the bottom. In reality, however, the data show that married couples in the upper income groups are much more likely to represent intact first marriages. Simply put, divorce is much less common among upper income groups.

The NLSY showed that among mothers who married, 77 percent of those in the bottom income fifth divorced at least once. For those in the top two fifths, only 21 percent divorced. When I apply these findings to current income data, my calculations show that the differences in family structure between upper and lower income households are effectively unchanged by correcting for the effects of divorce.

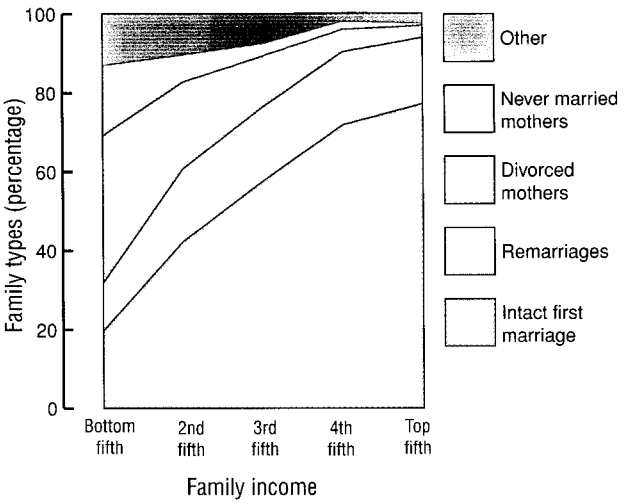
What about race? Maybe these supposed class differences in family structure are explained by the fact that single parenthood is much more common among blacks than among whites, and that blacks are disproportionately in the lowest income groups. Perhaps if we look at whites and blacks separately, the class differences in family structure will disappear.

I did the calculations: splitting family structure by race changes very little. For instance, among non-Hispanic whites in the bottom income fifth, only about 19 percent of the households with children consist of intact first marriages. Meanwhile, 78 percent of the non-Hispanic white households with children that fall into the top income group consist of intact first marriages. So even after factoring out race, the link between income and family structure persists.

But maybe it isn't a family's social class that establishes its family structure; maybe the causal arrow runs in the other direction. Perhaps what we're looking at in the nearby graph is the *creation* of economic classes by family-making behavior, not the reverse. Women get divorced and their income goes down, which falsely makes it look like low-income women get divorced more often than upper-income women. The same argument can be made for illegitimacy: Single women who give birth are thrown into poverty.

NLSY data let us answer this question briskly and definitively. If we look at income in the calendar year *prior* to divorce, we find that 64 percent of all divorces come from women in the bottom fifth of society by income. If we replicate the exercise for out-of-wedlock births we find that 72 percent come from women who were in the lowest income group even before having their baby. These percentages are effectively unchanged in the year following birth. The causal arrow clearly goes from class to behavior, not the other way around.

Structure of childraising families by income



My graph (above) provides estimates of the various sorts of family arrangements that exist in each income group. The blue zone at the bottom is the fraction of intact married families. Above that are remarried families. Above that are divorced mothers, and then never-married mothers. (At the very top are children living with grandparents, with fathers only, or in institutions.)

The relationship between income and married child rearing charted here has existed for as long as records have been kept—but on a much gentler scale. Only recently has the two-parent family faded from dominance. In 1960, approximately 73 percent of households in the lowest income fifth were headed by married parents. That was lower than among higher income groups, but still a large majority, so even in poor neighborhoods the socialization process was dominated by two-parent families, just as it was in the more affluent parts of town.

By 2000, only a third of households in the bottom income fifth were headed by married couples, and just one out of five consisted of an intact first marriage. We know that this new pattern will not be good for low-income children. And we can expect that American egalitarian ideals will be strained as a result.

There is some good news buried in these graphs: The point in the income ladder at which the intact family is still the norm is not stratospheric. The fourth family income group depicted in the graph starts at just a little more than $50,000. We are not

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

talking about a world where only the children of lawyers and physicians and business executives will begin life with the advantages of a two-parent home.

But we must recognize that in the last 40 years we have done more than modify a few sexual mores and social customs. We have set in motion a variety of forces that will have devastating effects primarily on the lower half of American society. As a result of the dissolution of the traditional family since the 1960s—a phenomenon that has taken root particularly among poorer families—class segregation will increase and social mobility at the bottom will decline. And America's image of itself as one big middle-class society will wither away.

Charles Murray is the Bradley Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute.

In 1989, only 15 percent of Americans had a computer at home. By 2001 that was up to 52 percent. Fully 55 million Americans now go on line during an average day.

Computers, Computers Everywhere

By Karlyn Bowman

What word do you associate most with the 1990s? In a survey by the Pew Research Center, more people chose "technology" and "computers" than anything else. The rapid increase in the use of personal computers is surely one of the most significant developments of the 1990s. In July 1989, only 15 percent of Americans reported having a computer at home; by February 2001 that had risen more than threefold to 52 percent. Of the households with a computer nearly a quarter actually have more than one.

The Commerce Department reports that computer prices fell slightly more than 10 percent every year from 1987 to 1994; price declines accelerated to 26 percent annually from 1995 to 1999. Not only have computers become much cheaper over the past decade, they also have much more capability. Computers have raised productivity in the workforce, and enhanced personal communication. Following the events of September 11, millions of Americans went online to check on loved ones and read the latest news.

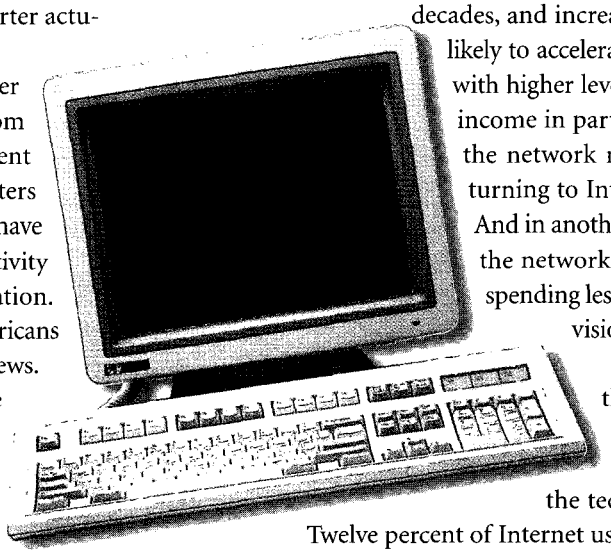
More than 300 million people worldwide now use the Internet, compared to 3 million in 1994. More than 100 million Americans have gone on line, and 55 million do so on an average day. The Internet audience is still skewed slightly to the young, the college educated, and those with higher incomes. But one of the big stories of the 1990s is that wired America began to look more like real America. According to the Pew Internet and American Life Project, "there has been a sharp increase in access to the Internet among those with less than college educations, those from households with middle- and working-class incomes, and, especially, among African Americans and Hispanics."

Differences in Internet access between men and women virtually disappeared in the 1990s, though the two sexes do use the Internet differently. Women are more likely to seek health and religious information. Men want news, financial information, and sports reports.

Young people often usher in change, particularly with new technologies. A Gallup Youth Survey of teens finds that nearly all—93 percent—say they have access to the Internet. Fully 86 percent of this age group have a computer at home. This tech-savvy generation reports it can usually figure out how to use computer equipment and software without outside help. At the other end of the age spectrum, meanwhile, a small pioneering group of older users (13 percent of Americans who are over age 65) are also experimenting with the Internet—mainly for communicating with family.

The most popular Internet activities are sending e-mail, getting news, and surfing. Just 3 percent say they go on line to trade stocks, bonds, or mutual funds, and only 1 percent have ever gambled on line. The Internet has become a news source in its own right, with one in three Americans regularly getting news solely from the Internet—up from 20 percent two years ago. The most popular type of Internet news? Weather updates.

The nightly television news audience has been shrinking for decades, and increasing Internet use is likely to accelerate that trend. Those with higher levels of education and income in particular are deserting the network news programs and turning to Internet news instead. And in another sign of trouble for the networks, Internet users are spending less time watching television overall.



The resilience of the new medium can be seen in the reaction of users to the tech-stock meltdown. Twelve percent of Internet users (13 million people) had a favorite Web site that went out of business. Most of them quickly found another to replace it.

Karlyn Bowman is TAE*'s Opinion Pulse editor.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Economy Soars, Schools Drag

By Ken Von Kohorn

Consider the contrast: America's free-enterprise economy barrels along throughout the 1990s, with minor interruptions, producing bountiful material wealth that is the envy of the world. We invent the Internet, create breakthrough technologies, learn how to treat illnesses in creative new ways, manufacture ever-improving consumer goods.

At the same time, in the same country, with the same productive people, a crucial activity—perhaps the most critical of all—languishes at levels near the bottom within the industrialized world. American schoolchildren regularly lag behind in international competitions. Millions of children—particularly minorities—are forced to attend schools that don't even teach them to read effectively, much less become well-educated members of society.

There is an anti-competitive spirit that pervades schooling in America. A country that has relied on competition to produce excellence in business, science, and industry has oddly allowed its educational system to fester under a stultifying government socialism. Our antiquated public school monopolies both waste resources and betray children. The real potential of millions of human beings will never be known.

Competition is shunned both in our choice of schools where children are taught and in the classroom itself, where striving among students has come to be seen by some as harmful to psyches. Differences between students are blurred. Work that decades ago might have received a "C" now merits an "A." Failing grades are virtually unheard of. In Greenwich, Connecticut's middle schools, fully two thirds of the students have been awarded "honor roll" status in recent years.

In one international math competition, the U.S. placed 19th out of 21 nations. The two below that were underdeveloped countries. At the same time, the *perception* of American students of their own math abilities scored the highest of all the participants. With boosting "self-esteem" now an explicit goal of education, educators lavish praise on students even for inadequate work, in their zeal to make them feel good about themselves. There has been a shift in emphasis in American education from *knowledge* to *feelings*.

One approach has been to lower the standards of academic measurement, either overtly or through grade inflation. Students in many schools have begun to receive credit for incorrect responses with the rationale that their answer was "close." Other assessments have changed from objective tests of knowledge to subjective "portfolios" and other measures that produce high grades for unchallenging work.

Even the venerable custom of recognizing valedictorians has begun to suffer from the anti-competition drive. Instead of giving the award to the top-ranked student, some schools have begun to set a threshold grade-point average and then designate everyone who exceeds it as a "valedictorian." In Fairfax County, Virginia, Lake Braddock High School named 19 valedictorians in 1997. Not to be outdone, Yorktown High in adjoining Arlington County anointed 33. A spokeswoman for Howard County, Maryland schools said, "We feel that graduation is a time to recognize the achievements of all students and not just the ones at the top of their class." In 1993, Maryland's Montgomery County abolished class rank on college transcripts entirely, because of the "competitive ill will and the college application difficulties created by a steady surge in the number of straight-A students." The participation of county schools in an overheated grade inflation that could create so many straight-A students went unexplained.

One of the unintended consequences of eliminating competition is that it deprives students of crucial growth opportuni-

ties. Psychologists like Dr. Martin Seligman, author of *The Optimistic Child*, have found through research with hundreds of students that failure provides an invaluable learning experience. So long as children are taught to consider their shortfalls as isolated events, triggered by specific causes (such as not preparing thoroughly for a test), they develop a more realistic sense of the world. By making adjustments (like studying harder for the next test), children can turn failure into accomplishment—and thereby acquire a more optimistic perspective of reality. Optimism that difficulties can be surmounted helps them cope with later (and tougher) challenges. By discouraging competition, educators deprive students of crucial personal development. They also prepare children for a non-existent world where everyone gets credit and no one fails.

Declining standards were obvious even to 13-year-old me back in 1963. That was the year I shifted from public

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

schools to Choate, a private prep school in Connecticut. I had attended public schools in Greenwich, an affluent suburb of New York, yet even there, the homework assignments were minimal. I arrived at Choate with no idea of what hard work was like.

My first Choate writing assignment was a brief essay on "Daedalus and Icarus" from Edith Hamilton's classic *Mythology*. I proudly turned in my paper, with no inkling of what awaited me. The teacher selected several essays, mine included, to read aloud to the class. To my humiliation, my writing provoked laughter—as did the other selected essays. My writing style was so immature that the prose was comically heavy and overwrought. From that defining moment, I realized that I was in a new world. Homework would require three hours per evening—instead of three minutes. The teachers would be demanding and would not hesitate to point out flaws in students' work. Education was school centered rather than child centered. Choate's high standards were inviolable, and it was up to students to learn to adapt to them. My feelings and psyche would take a temporary pounding—punishment that toughened me and made me a far stronger and more resilient student as the years unfolded. Today, public school teachers are fired for far milder versions of the "helpful torment" that my Choate instructors once bestowed on me.

Back in 1958, John Keats described the "traditional" teacher this way:

> She tries to capture the class's interest, but she is not in the least interested in whether everybody is having a good time, or wants to learn what she is there to profess. Her point is that work is required and that all students are expected to compete against an objective standard of achievement. She regards competition as a virtue, not a social disease; and so hands out stars and grades for performance. The grades reflect standards that are not set by kids, but by the teacher herself, based on her presumption of society's standards. She does everything she can to help out slow children, but she does not neglect the more gifted students. She has no intention of compromising her standards to make anyone feel good.... The traditionalist is dedicated to the proposition that society is merely a function of individuals.

Inner-city minorities are harmed more than other schoolchildren by the lowering of standards and by the education establishment's stubborn adherence to failed methods. In 1998, only 73 percent of African Americans and 60 percent of Hispanics aged 18 to 24 had completed high school, compared with 82 percent of whites. In 1999, National Assessment of Educational Progress reading scores for black 9-, 13-, and 17-year-olds were about 30 percentiles lower than scores for whites.

Consequences of the decline of American education can also be seen at the top of the educational totem pole. For instance, top engineering and science graduate programs now need to look overseas to find enough capable candidates. Currently, nearly 40 percent of M.I.T. grad students come from abroad. Roughly one third of all master's degrees and 45 percent of all doctoral degrees in high-tech fields are now awarded to foreign nationals. The chairman of the Michigan State University statistics department points out that "If this country didn't have all these extraordinary Chinese students applying here, we wouldn't be able to provide the teaching assistants, fill our graduate programs, or provide the statisticians the country needs." *Wall Street Journal* writer David Wessel notes that "scientists and engineers are crucial to future domestic prosperity. Counting on a continued flow of foreigners because the professions can't attract Americans is a risky strategy." Of course, if the problem were confined to merely *attracting* enough American students, the marketplace would eventually solve that problem through increased incentives. The true problem is that not enough Americans are *capable* of competing with foreign students for entry into advanced science and engineering programs.

The percentage of single mothers holding jobs jumped 25 percent in just the last six years—to a record total of three out of four.

Within many of today's government owned and operated schools, the real power is wielded by a cartel which includes America's two teachers unions, the bureaucrats of the federal and state education departments, and local administrative functionaries. They shape the public school agenda and direct over $300 billion in spending more toward their own interests than the interests of 45 million students. They have created a near-impenetrable firewall against numerous reform efforts launched by citizen activists, parents, idealistic politicians, and well-intentioned judges.

Establishing competition in schooling is the most promising and comprehensive remedy for the ills that now beset American education. Parents should be able to choose the best education for their children. They would then determine whether traditional subjects would be emphasized, whether knowledge would trump feelings, whether their offspring would be allowed to suffer temporary setbacks and failures—as healthy learning experiences—during their crucial formative years. Parents with options would demand far more from schools in concrete results than they have been getting.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Discussing free-market proposals for education, Harvard economist Caroline *Hoxby* affirms that markets weed out inferior products: "I don't think school choice is going to get us perfect schools—parents aren't perfect choosers. It's not that our cars are all perfect...but we do eliminate really bad cars, cars that nobody would want to buy." At the present time, we have really bad schools all over America, schools that no parents would want to send their children to—particularly in inner cities. Yet under the current, non-competitive system, most parents have no alternative. Competition, both among the schools and within the classroom itself, is the only way to alter that unacceptable state of affairs for good.

Ken Von Kohorn is writing a book on education, from which this article has been adapted.

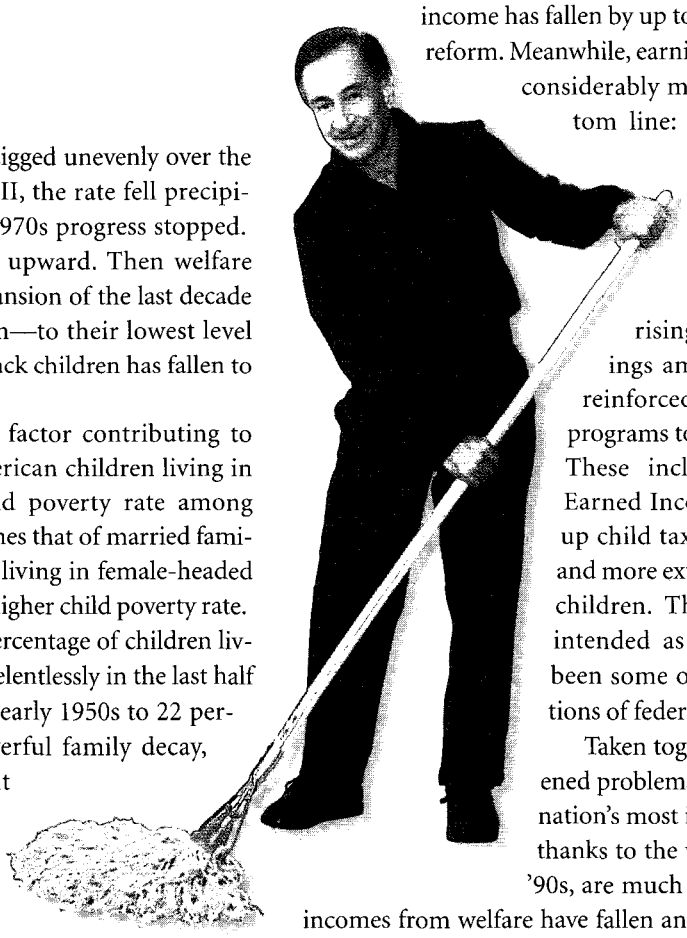
The Poor Go to Work

By Ron Haskins

The trend line for child poverty has zigged unevenly over the last half century. After World War II, the rate fell precipitously as wages rose, but in the early 1970s progress stopped. Indeed, child poverty started to drift upward. Then welfare reform and the vigorous economic expansion of the last decade pushed child poverty rates down again—to their lowest level since the early 1970s. Poverty among black children has fallen to its lowest rate ever.

The most important demographic factor contributing to child poverty is the percentage of American children living in families headed by women. The child poverty rate among female-headed families is four or five times that of married families. As more and more children began living in female-headed families, simple mathematics assured a higher child poverty rate.

The unfortunate reality is that the percentage of children living in female-headed households rose relentlessly in the last half century—from about 6 percent in the early 1950s to 22 percent in 2000. In the face of this powerful family decay, even huge increases in government spending couldn't stop the rising tide of poverty. Government spending for the poor zoomed from $40 billion per year to nearly $350 billion annually between 1965 and 1995. Still, child poverty drifted upward.



Not until 1993 did child poverty start falling sharply again. Why? One factor was that the nearly half-century trend toward more and more single-mother families leveled off. In the mid '90s the percentage of children in female-headed households flattened out, and even fell a bit among minorities. If the motor driving child poverty was the decline of marriage, that motor is now idling.

A second factor pushing child poverty down is the rapidly growing employment rate of single mothers. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, more than a third of all single mothers were jobless, languishing on welfare, child-support payments, or shared income from friends, cohabitors, or family members. The income of single mothers who do not work is consistently low and precarious.

But when welfare reform arrived in the mid 1990s, poor single mothers began to enter the labor force in stunning numbers. By 2000, the percentage of single mothers with jobs reached almost 75 percent, an increase of about 25 percent in just six years. More remarkable still, employment among never-married mothers—the ones most likely to be poor, least likely to work, and most likely to be heavily dependent on welfare—increased almost 45 percent between 1994 and 2000.

As single mothers began taking jobs, their poverty rate plummeted. Among the poorest single mothers, welfare income has fallen by up to half or more since welfare reform. Meanwhile, earnings show huge increases—considerably more than a doubling. Bottom line: The total income of the poorest single mothers has increased by 25 to 30 percent over the last seven years.

Falling illegitimacy and rising employment and earnings among single mothers were reinforced by a shift in government programs toward the support of work. These included a much-expanded Earned Income Tax Credit, a beefed-up child tax credit, child care credits, and more extensive health insurance for children. These programs, nearly all intended as work supplements, have been some of the fastest growing portions of federal spending.

Taken together, these steps have softened problems that were once among the nation's most intractable. Single mothers, thanks to the welfare reforms of the mid '90s, are much likelier to have jobs. Their incomes from welfare have fallen and been more than replaced by earnings plus support from expanded federal incentives to work. The total earnings of their families have thus increased substantially, and poverty among their children has fallen at its fastest rate in a generation. These are momentous changes, linked to changes in federal policy, and built on new behavior among poor single mothers. They represent a rare success for social policy for the poor.

Ron Haskins, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, was recently appointed as a welfare adviser to the White House.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Our Racial Mix-up

By David Murray

Before the next census we should abandon the statistically loopy effort to stick Americans into racial boxes.

Our government uses "race" identifications to monitor civil-rights laws, track poverty, enforce racial balance in schools, and provide many forms of aid to minorities. So it was an important change when the U.S. Bureau of the Census allowed Americans, in response to demands from mixed-race groups, to categorize themselves in 2000 in any of 126 potential "racial" groups (most of them combinations of two or more categories). The 1990 census had just five racial categories. Some civil-rights advocates hoped the change would expand the overall number of people covered under civil-rights regulations. Others feared that specific racial groups could find their numbers diluted by the availability of multiple options.

When the data were tabulated, the most widely reported development was that Hispanics had for the first time surpassed blacks in number. Hispanics appear to have exceeded 35 million, a 61 percent increase in ten years. Blacks rose by about 16 percent to just under 35 million. Including Hispanic illegal immigrants (millions of whom were not counted in the census), people of Hispanic heritage (who may be of any race) are now at least as large a minority as American blacks.

For the 275 million Americans who reported only one race, whites were 75 percent (69 percent if you exclude the Hispanics who called themselves white). Blacks were 12 percent, Asian Americans were 4 percent. American Indians and native Hawaiians were each under 1 percent. A perhaps confused 6 percent declared themselves to be of "some other race." Of Hispanics, 48 percent identified themselves as white alone. Another 42 percent reported as "some other race." The rest selected a mix of races.

About 2.4 percent of the U.S. population (6.8 million individuals) took advantage of the first-ever option to identify themselves as belonging to more than one race. The most common combinations were: 32 percent "white and some other race," 16 percent "white and American Indian," 13 percent "white and Asian," 11 percent "white and black." As to how mixed-race people were to be actually tabulated, a Census Bureau official admitted to the press, "These figures can be used in any way people feel appropriate. They can count them in whatever way they want to." As soon as the results appeared, political fallout was close behind.

Some activists felt they had been wronged. A columnist complained in the *San Diego Union-Tribune*, "Instead of seeing growth in their communities, Asians and Pacific Islanders suddenly find some of their populations shrinking." A black columnist for the *Los Angeles Times* warned that the multi-race categories "will succeed in destroying ethnic community voting blocs."

Government agencies have walked on eggshells in tabulating the multi-race respondents. The Office of Management and Budget, which uses race, among other things, to apportion social welfare funds, decided to count multi-race respondents differently depending on the application. For affirmative-action monitoring, for instance, the OMB counts anyone as a minority who calls himself white plus a minority race.

The Census Bureau, on the other hand, boiled each person down to one classification—by examining the predominant group in his immediate neighborhood and assuming he matched it. There are problems with this, since Census tracts are no longer especially segregated. The average white person now lives in a tract that is 80 percent white (down from 85 percent in 1990). The average black person lives in a tract that is 51 percent black (down from 56 percent in 1990). The average Hispanic's tract is 45 percent Hispanic, while the average Asian lives in a tract that is just 18 percent Asian.

It is obvious to any observer that our current census measurements of race represent a series of futile dodges. Increasingly, counting by calcified notions of race is a contradiction. We should admit that the current system is hopelessly loopy, and abandon the effort to stick Americans in racial boxes before the next census.

David Murray is on leave as director of the Statistical Assessment Service.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

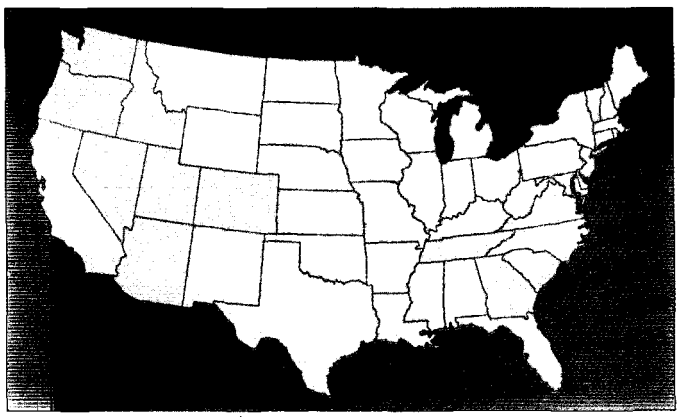
The New Suburbanization

By William Frey

U.S. population growth has shifted, for the first time in generations, toward smaller communities, non-urban areas, and less densely populated states.

"Moving to the suburbs" used to imply a local move to a more bucolic and safe middle-class neighborhood. It meant jumping from New York City to Long Island, or from downtown L.A. to the San Fernando Valley. The 2000 census, however, showed a new kind of *national* "suburbanization," as large numbers of middle-class people chose to escape to whole new states.

While Americans are moving less than they used to (see Joel Kotkin's story opening this collection), there are still millions of household relocations in this country. And people who do move now tend to go to very specific places. In particular, there are 13 fast-growing states that might be called America's Suburbs. They are Arizona, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Nevada, Oregon,Washington, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Virginia, and Delaware. Located primarily in the Southeast and West, their collective population grew by 24 percent over the 1990s (versus 13 percent for the nation as a whole). And, most critically, these particular states grew mostly through the migration of successful native-born whites and blacks from other states. Domestic migrants outnumbered foreign-born immigrants by five to one in these states during the 1990s. Fully 79 percent of our nation's white population growth took place in these 13 states.



The new suburbanites who relocated ranged from young Gen-Xers just forming families to the well-off newly retired. Married couples with children are declining nationally, but they are growing in this area. (Nevada's 25 percent jump in the number of such traditional families led the nation.)

The old fast-growing sunbelt destinations of California, Texas, and Florida are conspicuously *not* part of the "new suburbia." Because they contain some of the nation's largest urban immigrant gateways, those three states are still growing, but the rate at which they're doing so has peaked. After the 1990 census, California, Texas, and Florida earned 14 new Congressional seats; following the 2000 census they gained only five. Moreover, the new residents that California, Texas, and Florida are attracting are of a very different type than the middle-class, native-born families and retirees heading to the 13 states of our "new suburbia."

The broadly suburb-like character of these 13 states is attracting whites and blacks who want to leave the pricey, congested, commuting metropolises of California and the Northeast for more peaceful, conservative, family-friendly and senior-friendly communities. The fastest growth within the new suburbia is occurring in non-urban areas and small cities. In their exodus from more cosmopolitan, liberal urban areas on the coasts, the participants in this new suburban flight are sharpening the differences—cultural, political, and demographic—between various U.S. states and regions.

This new regionally based definition of Suburban America points to the increasing separation of its residents from Melting Pot America. While it is true that the country is becoming more racially and ethnically mixed, the diversity is not spread evenly across the nation. The six states that received the most immigrants during the '90s (California, New York, Texas, Florida, Illinois, and New Jersey) plus three other states that, for their own historical reasons, have large ethnic minorities (New Mexico, Hawaii, and Alaska) are home to 74 percent of the nation's combined Hispanic and Asian populations, 70 percent of the U.S. foreign-born population, and 76 percent of all Americans who speak Spanish at home.

While these nine "melting pot" states are growing (at about half the rate of the "new suburban" states), their growth is dominated by immigrant minorities. As a group, these states have shown a *loss* of white residents over the 1990s, and they now house only 37 percent of the nation's native-born population. During the 1990s, the greater Los Angeles region lost over 800,000 whites; the greater New York area lost over 600,000. Similar losses of whites were observed in metro areas like Miami, Chicago, and San Diego. These white losses reflect mostly young people, married couples, parents, and new retirees heading to the 13 new suburban states—where they seem to be seeking new lives rooted in more old-fashioned values.

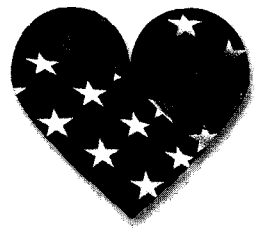
William Frey is a demographer at the University of Michigan Population Studies Center and a senior fellow at the Milken Institute.

To conclude in our next issue.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Transcript

Words worth repeating



America's Strong Heart

Excerpted from a recent speech by poet and TAE *contributing writer Frederick Turner. (His full text will be published in the* American Arts Quarterly.*)*

American society has a surface layer of fashionable, transient, amoral, inhuman modernism that conceals a great enduring American heartland beneath.

This contradiction between American appearance and American reality is dangerous—both to ourselves and to our enemies. It is dangerous to us because foreigners acquainted only with our Hollywood narcissism, TV sex, artistic trash, and academic twaddle can easily mistake us as morally flabby and unable to defend ourselves: ripe pickings for the samurai or *mujahedin* of a more determined culture.

It is dangerous to our enemies too, and to those who play with the idea of becoming such, to believe we are a paper tiger. Ours is the nation that defeated the most powerful nation on earth to get its independence, that fought the battle of Gettysburg with *itself* over matters of principle, the nation that smashed the Japanese Imperial Navy at Midway, and that outlasted the cruelest and most well-armed empire in the world in the Cold War. A nation slow to anger, but hazardous when roused and deadly patient when necessary; the only way to escape its just wrath is to seek its forgiveness—which is, admittedly, always immediate and generous.

American military prowess comes not from a militaristic society. It comes from a depth of culture and a density of history, from a constant striving for goodness. Most of us hardly appreciate our cultural riches and deep historical legacy, because we live in the middle of it, and because it has been denigrated by intellectuals and academics—using our tradition of freedom to attack the tradition itself.

The mistake that enemies always make about America is to believe that its surface of apparent relativism, hedonism, and cheap academic fashion goes all the way down. They do not bother to read deeper. They do not recognize the extraordinary anomaly of America—that unlike almost all the other technologically advanced and wealthy nations of the world, it has become not less but *more* religious.

Most critics, foreign and domestic, ignore the America that exists quietly between our coasts. And not just the geographical heartland of small-town America has this deep strength. New York City surprised everybody in September with its courage, resilience, spirit of fraternity, and spontaneous patriotism and faith in God. Our heartland is everywhere: in the firehouses of Manhattan, in the business people who meet the payroll, in the honest reporters of the press.

We Americans have a kind of absolutism of our own, one more durable and resilient than the brittle absolutisms of the Arab nationalist or communist or tribal fundamentalist. It is an evolving absolutism, which continually revises itself in the light of what it learns elsewhere in the world. It happily incorporates into its own genome any scrap of truth to be found in another tradition. It is not afraid to judge what is good or bad, subject always to its own habit of self-criticism and empirical testing. Even the vitality of our religious institutions is linked to competition and the fact that we do not have an established church. Free markets are as beneficial to religion as they are to business. We have an evolutionary and competitive ecology of creeds, wherein the truth can be tested and refined through the experience of three hundred million free consciences.

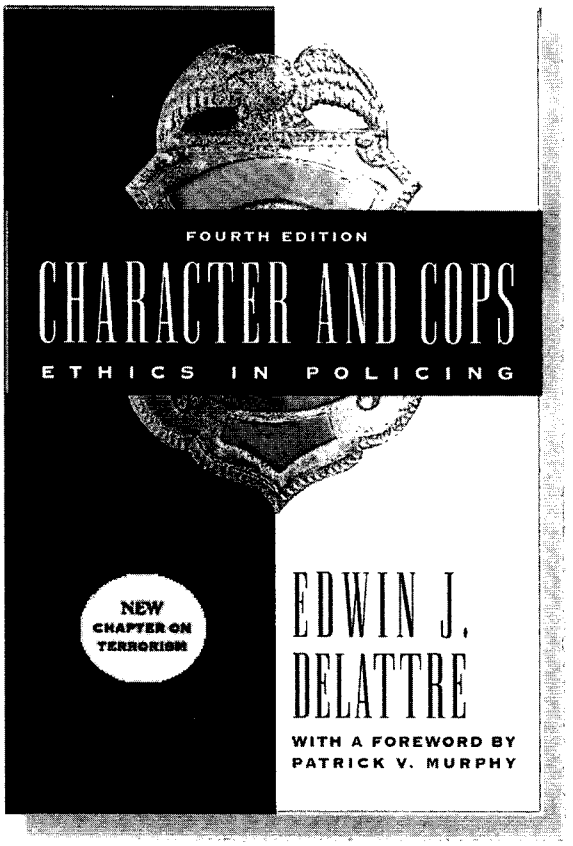
American elites must stop their snide sniping from the sidelines and take more responsibility for our nation. Sometimes, especially when attacked, we must count our cultural blessings. We are in bad faith if we accept America's comforts without giving tribute to her spirit, and hope to her future. Before American intellectuals act with self-contempt, let them think of potentially malicious foreign audiences, only too ready to despise America. Let them think of our own young people, who need ideals and splendid examples on which to model their lives.

American students today are often led to admire societies in far corners of the world, and to contrast them with the shallow and materialistic America of malls and pop culture. The pity is that they have never been taught to give the same attention to America's own grand legacies. Let us not compare the best of some other culture with the worst of our own; and let us ask ourselves whether that other culture could so generously or so efficiently absorb into itself our values, as we can theirs. Let us learn our nation's history, and be as generous in interpreting the high motives of our founders and heroes as we are perceptive in recognizing their human flaws.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE FUTURE OF POLICING AFTER 9-11

What does it take to build a police force competent to handle new terrorist threats and nonterrorist crime?



454 pages • ISBN 0-8447-4153-1 • $20.00 paperback

"This fascinating volume, a sophisticated exercise in applied political philosophy, illuminates the complexity of policing and the central role of that profession in a free society."

—George F. Will, columnist, *NEWSWEEK*

"Teaches us how character makes a difference in the rule of law."

—William J. Bennett, author, *THE BOOK OF VIRTUES*

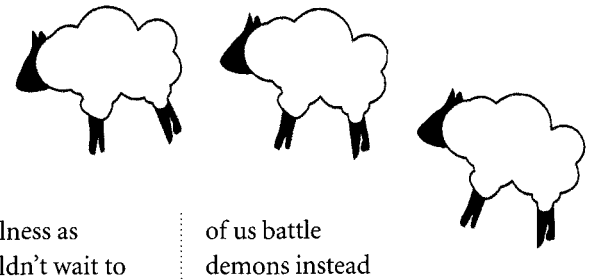
AEI AEI PRESS

Publisher for the American Enterprise Institute
Washington, D.C.

800.937.5557 • www.aei.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Rigors of Sleep



By Marilyn Penn

NEW YORK, NEW YORK—Mid-life hits everyone with a different set of blues. Some people lament a departed waist and the arrival of its surrogate, a pair of well defined love handles. Others have to contend with mate separation, empty nest syndrome, imminent retirement, or the almost universal disillusionments about one's self, partner, child, parent, or general lot in life.

In my case, sleep became the battleground for working out my problems. Then, perversely, sleep itself became my biggest problem.

Somewhere around age 50, I began to perform the following activities while asleep: snore, grind my teeth, tense my shoulders, stiffen my neck, shorten my spine, cramp my feet, inflame my sweat glands, provoke my bladder, and wrestle with my pillow. These exercises left me putty-faced and deeply creviced every morning. And that was just the physical part. Always prone to nightmares, I found that as soon as I shut my eyes I was losing teeth, being abandoned in lunar landscapes, running from serial killers, and constantly making heart-stopping mistakes like leaving my daughter in her highchair while I went skiing for the weekend.

Rather than embracing the arms of Morpheus, I seemed to be cross-channeling into the Labors of Sisyphus and exhausting my body in the very act of rest. The paradox was that I had no trouble falling asleep, or even staying asleep for several hours. But the longer I slept, the more fatigued I would feel. I looked forward to wakefulness as surcease from labor. I couldn't wait to jump out of bed before dawn for a relaxing round of housework.

My husband was a bad sleeper too and I began to wonder if our bedroom had unwholesome vibes. Sheepishly, I began asking others about their sleep habits. That's when I discovered that there are *hordes* of people out there who are sleep sufferers. In addition to all of my own symptoms I was hearing about dry mouths and throats, nasal congestion, itchy bodies, neurasthenic feet, acid reflux, and inordinate hunger pains. Perhaps sleeplessness is the body's quest for relief from these rigors.

Or perhaps the problem lies in our expectations. Programmed to believe that we all should be getting seven hours or more of nightly relaxation, we become disturbed and anxious when the opposite takes place. The truth is, I'm seldom sleepy during the day, just tired when I awake. Once up, I feel relieved and energetic and all aches and pains disappear. But then I'm bombarded by articles about sleep deprivation, talk show segments on how to get a better night's sleep, and medical warnings about Americans falling asleep at the wheel. Not to mention killing their babies by rolling over them in bed. I worry about all of this. And then about the fact that worry interferes with quality sleep.

I know that out there in America another support group is waiting to be born. We will call it Jacob's Ladder, in honor of the first recorded incident of a man wrestling in his sleep. Though most of us battle demons instead of angels, we know the basic feeling. Jacob was wounded during his sleep encounter but he survived and went on to become a wide-awake patriarch. As he approached mid-life, he probably developed arthritis in that injured hip and proceeded to thrash about like the rest of us.

Though Jacob is our role model, his son Joseph must be considered a sleep troublemaker. It was Joseph who presumed to interpret dreams, thereby bestowing additional significance on the state of sleep. Had it not been for him, sleeping might have remained an activity like blinking or yawning, not subject to extreme scrutiny and concern. No one walks around asking his mate "How are you blinking today?" or "Did you get enough yawns?" No one even knows how many blinks or yawns are appropriate, so we neither worry nor think about it.

Like other successful support groups, Jacob's Ladder will incorporate a twelve rung program. I'm not sure what all of these will be yet, but I do know that the first one will mandate no obsessing over insoluble sleep problems. Just as alcoholics must discipline themselves to resist taking a drink, Ladderites will learn to sit among others and bite their tongues before answering the question, "Howdja sleep last night?"

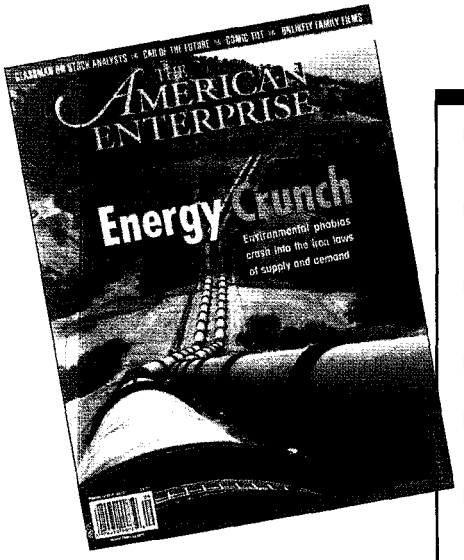
New York writer Marilyn Penn has been published in Newsweek *and elsewhere.*

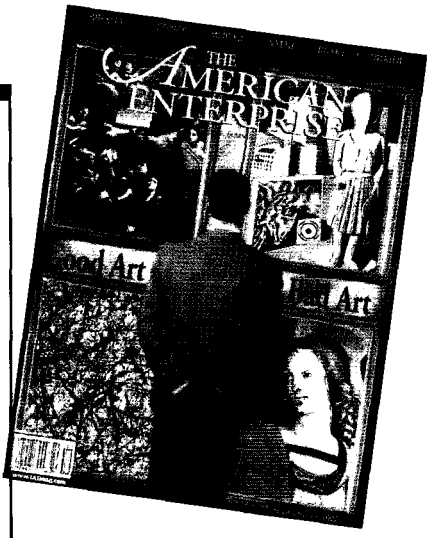
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Pick A Free Issue

Subscribe or Renew NOW

& choose a FREE issue from our collection of greatest hits!





☐ **Great Debates** Pat Buchanan vs. Ben Wattenberg on immigration. C. S. Lewis vs. Sigmund Freud. Rural America vs. David Brooks. Realists vs. Enviros. CBS's Goldberg on media bias. (Mar '02)

☐ **Good Art/Bad Art** Why most modern art is so awful, and how to change that. Karl Zinsmeister, Andres Duany, Michael Medved, Jonah Goldberg. Plus Wm. F. Buckley interview. (J/F '02)

☐ **Islamic Terrorism** Where it came from. How to stop it. With exclusive reporting from the Middle East. Also, Josiah Bunting III on education and character. (Dec '01)

☐ **Energy Crunch** Environmental phobias crash into the iron laws of supply and demand. (Sep '01)

☐ **The Slavery Reparation Controversy** John McWhorter, Deroy Murdock & others discuss the flawed logic behind the argument. Also: Our sick postal system's future. (J/A '01)

☐ **Delinquents in Suburbia** From the inner-city streets to our backyard—how white middle-class suburbs are producing today's juvenile criminals. (June '01)

☐ **Missile Defense: Ready or Not?** Is it needed? Is the technology ripe? Can we afford it? Answers from Richard Perle, Newt Gingrich, P. J. O'Rourke, Jeane Kirkpatrick & more. (A/M '01)

☐ **America's Divided Politics** Mona Charen, Chris Matthews, Ed Koch, David Frum, Michael Medved, David Boaz & others debate the country's future politics. (Mar '01)

☐ **Model Schools** A year's worth of reporting from 14 schools that really teach. Also: Shelby Foote, unfiltered; Michael Novak finds God. (J/F '01)

☐ **Fixing Immigration** Critics from Left and Right, including Michael Barone, Samuel Huntington & Linda Chavez. Also: John McWhorter pleads "Let Blacks Compete." (Dec '00)

☐ **Bush & Cheney's Backyard** A look at Dallas shows what booming Middle America has to teach coastal elites. (O/N '00)

☐ **Where Are Today's Heroes?** Answers from Stephen Ambrose, James Webb, Ben Stein & others. Also: *NY Times* to NYPD: Drop Dead! (Sep '00)

☐ **The War on Boys** by Christina Hoff Sommers. Also: Ward Connerly recounts his struggles, Bob Costas. (June '00)

☐ **Does Father Still Know Best?** Reflections on fatherhood from Ben Stein, Barbara Dafoe Whitehead, Karl Zinsmeister & others. Also: Blacks, moms, and cops against gun control. (S/O '99)

☐ **Deep Inside America's Military Academies** James Webb, Pat Conroy, Bill Kauffman & others in a special report based on 12 months of in-depth investigation. Also: Chris Matthews, live. (J/A '99)

☐ **Whatever Happened to the Truth?** Christopher Hitchens, Christina Hoff Sommers & Lynne Cheney on the lying epidemic. (M/J '99)

☐ **How to Clean Up Trash TV** Answers from Michael Medved, David Horowitz, Joseph Lieberman, Steve Allen & more. (M/A '99)

☐ **Will China Bury Us?** Conflicting answers to this crucial question by P. J. O'Rourke, Pat Buchanan, Steven Mosher & many more. Also: How guns can stop mass shootings. (J/A '98)

☐ **Tradition: Who Needs It?** Exploring the value of time-tested ideas. James Webb, Stanley Crouch, Wynton Marsalis, Michael Medved, E. D. Hirsch, Miss Manners, Mark Steyn, Charles Murray. (M/A '97)

☐ **Privatizing Social Security** Meet the super-reform that would rev up the national economy and dramatically shrink government. (J/F '97)

Start a one-year subscription to *The American Enterprise,* or extend your existing subscription (in either case at our standard one-year price of $28), and **we'll send you a classic back issue at no extra charge** (a $6 value).

We'll even let you **choose** the issue you want.

Fill in your subscriber's information. Then mark the free back issue you'd like, and we'll send it at the same time we process your subscription order.

Copy or tear out and mail to
The American Enterprise
109 Briarcliffe Road
Dewitt, NY 13214

or FAX to 315.449.3242

☐ Please start my one-year subscription to *The American Enterprise.*
(AFBI02)

☐ Please extend my current subscription by one year.
(EFBI02)

Name.....

Address.....

.....

City.....

State/Zip.....

☐ check for $28 (made out to *The American Enterprise*) enclosed.
☐ bill my VISA/MC/AMEX

card #.....

expires.....

sig.....

phone.....

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Terror Watch

America's Homegrown Terrorists

By Brandon Bosworth

Enron CEO Kenneth Lay wasn't the only one pleading the Fifth Amendment on Capitol Hill in February. Testifying on February 13 before a House committee investigating terrorism committed in the U.S. in the name of environmentalism, former Earth Liberation Front (ELF) spokesman Craig Rosebraugh invoked the right against self-incrimination over 50 times. He even took the Fifth when asked if he was a U.S. citizen. At one point Representative George Nethercutt (R-WA) jokingly asked if Mr. Rosebraugh was "in any way related" to Mr. Lay. As you might have guessed, Rosebraugh took the Fifth on that one, too.

Craig Rosebraugh hasn't always been so hesitant to speak his mind. A scrawny, bespectacled 28-year-old with a shaved head, he first became involved with ELF and its sister group the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) in 1997. He claims the organizations contacted him anonymously with assorted statements and communiqués, which he then prepared as press releases. These releases were sent to the media, and Mr. Rosebraugh made himself available for interviews and speeches.

Who exactly were these shadowy people Mr. Rosebraugh was representing? ELF first reared its ugly head in England in 1992. By 1997 it had begun to operate in America. There are no formal headquarters or known internal structure, and most of its members seem to be high school or college students. But over the years, both ELF and ALF have been responsible for many serious acts of eco-terrorism. According to James Jarboe, the FBI's top domestic terrorism officer, they are "the most active" and "cause the most damage" of any U.S. terrorist organization. He estimates that ELF and ALF have caused $43 million in damage over the years. One of the most costly acts was the 1998 torching of a ski resort in Vail, Colorado that caused $12 million in damages. In 1999, ELF members set fire to Michigan State University's Agriculture Hall to destroy academic research they found offensive. A million dollars of damage was done to a Eugene, Oregon car dealership when enviro-terrorists destroyed 36 trucks and SUVs. Last year, ALF firebombed the Coulston Foundation biomedical facility in New Mexico, causing another $1 million in damages.

There's more. In his testimony to Congress, Richard Berman, executive director of the Center for Consumer Freedom, explained that "during the past three years, ELF and ALF have claimed responsibility for smashing bank windows, torching a chicken feed truck, burning a horse corral at a Bureau of Land Management facility…even setting bombs under meat delivery trucks." He noted that ELF and ALF took joint credit for the firebombing of a Tucson, Arizona McDonald's that occurred, ironically, on September 11, 2001. Mr. Berman estimates these groups are responsible for "well over 1,000 documented criminal acts in the U.S." ELF and ALF themselves admit to committing 137 illegal acts in North America in 2001 (25 since September 11), causing millions of dollars in damages.

AP Photo/Jack Smith

Craig Rosebraugh of the Earth Liberation Front and Animal Liberation Front.

Throughout their terror campaign, ELF and ALF could always count on the support of Craig Rosebraugh. He shrugs off the idea that he represented vandals, saying "if we are vandals, so were those who destroyed forever the gas chambers of Buchenwald and Auschwitz." Mr. Rosebraugh defends the burning of a luxury home in Boulder, Colorado on the grounds that "there is no reason…for someone to have…a multimillion-dollar home when there are people living in the same city who can't afford proper shelter." Do ELF and ALF expect to win new converts through terrorism? "That's not the immediate goal," according to Craig Rosebraugh. "The immediate goal is to cause economic damage."

As for the possibility of "physical harm that may come to the public," Mr. Rosebraugh says ELF and ALF "pose no

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

threat, and they never have posed any threat." He claims "no one has ever been injured by the group's many actions." But he has encouraged others "to find a local Earth raper and make them pay.... Furriers, meat packers, bosses, developers, rich industry leaders are all Earth rapers." Though Mr. Rosebraugh left out journalists, at least one of them has also been "made to pay" for alleged crimes against nature. British journalist Graham Hall, who made a documentary critical of ALF, was kidnapped at gunpoint in October 1999. Using a branding iron, his captors branded the letters "ALF"—each letter four inches high—onto his back. An ALF spokesman explained that "People who make their living this way have to expect from time to time to take the consequences of their actions."

More mainstream environmental groups have put some distance between themselves and ELF and ALF. Greenpeace executive director John Passacatando issued a statement reading, "If we define eco-terrorism as violence, violence to people or to property, we disavow it." Sierra Club spokesman Allen Mattison believes that by using property destruction as a tool, ELF and ALF are "alienating potential allies." How does Craig Rosebraugh feel about these criticisms? "Many individuals in the environmental community despise the ELF and its tactics out of some learned hypocritical white liberalism."

What would lead a vegan baker like Craig Rosebraugh into the arms of America's most damaging homegrown terrorists? While he didn't say anything to Congress besides "I'll take the Fifth," Rosebraugh did submit 11 pages of written testimony that sheds further light on his thinking. He claims to have been a patriotic, mainstream youth up until the Gulf War. Then Mr. Rosebraugh was "horrified at the slaughter of Iraqi civilians by the U.S. military" and became involved with the anti-war movement. That's when he "began to understand the disastrous relationship our modern society has with many animal nations."

Eco-saboteurs have wreaked millions of dollars worth of damage in the U.S. since 1997.

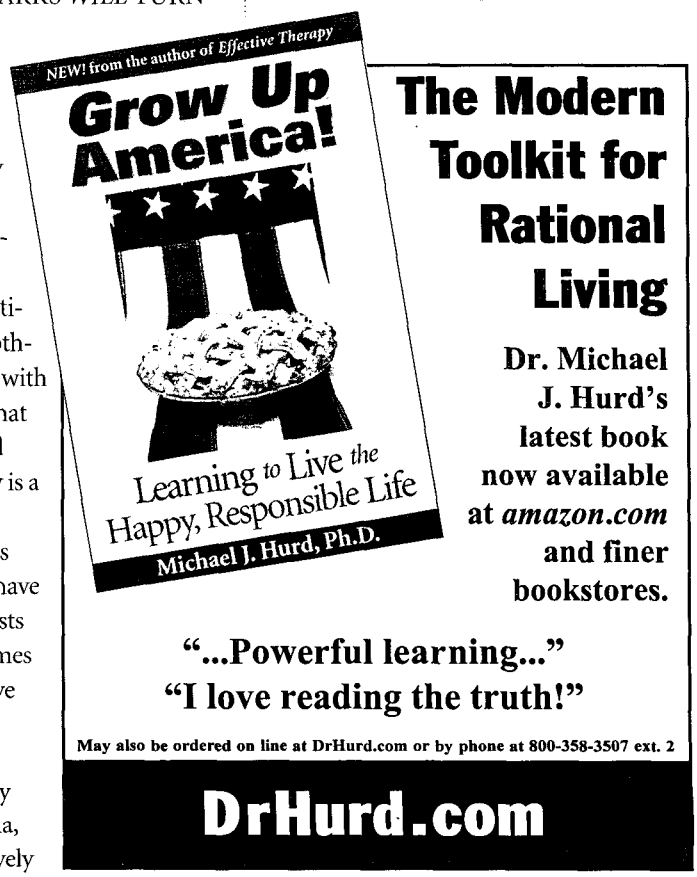
From there it was a short hop to left-wing revisionist history, in which "the origins of this country were based upon murder, exploitation, and ultimate genocide."

Rosebraugh now believes the "so-called 'Great American Revolution'" really "only served and benefited the privileged white male." And terrorism? In Rosebraugh's mind, "the U.S. government by far has been the most extreme terrorist organization in planetary history." His rambling screed ends with "ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE. LONG LIVE THE EARTH LIBERATION FRONT. LONG LIVE THE ANIMAL LIBERATION FRONT. LONG LIVE ALL THE SPARKS ATTEMPTING TO IGNITE THE REVOLUTION. SOONER OR LATER THE SPARKS *WILL* TURN INTO A FLAME!"

Not nearly enough is being done to blunt eco-terrorism. University labs, medical and agricultural researchers, loggers, homebuilders, pharmaceutical companies, and others are now attacked with regularity. The fact that Congress finally held hearings in February is a good sign, but more needs to be done. It is shameful that there have been hardly any arrests for the countless crimes the ELF and ALF have been responsible for. Partly because these attacks are not widely reported in the media, there has been relatively little public outcry against eco-terrorists. Even before September 11 if you said the word "terrorist" to the average American, the first thing to pop into his mind would be an image of some bearded, unkempt Arab; not a middle-class white kid. Terrorists came from overseas, not from Oregon.

While nothing ELF or ALF have done so far comes close to the magnitude of the attacks on the World Trade Center, how long will that remain true? Should we ignore these bombers, burglars, arsonists, and saboteurs among us because they remind some people of the romanticized radicals of the Baby Boomers' adolescence? For those who shrug off these junior terrorists, Representative Scott McInnis (R-CO) has a warning: "It would be a mistake to call them misguided youth, or trust-fund babies with nothing to do. They are hardened criminals."

Brandon Bosworth is a TAE *associate editor.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Flashback

To know nothing of what happened before you were born is to remain ever a child—Cicero

They Voted Against Mother's Day

In the annals of easy votes, one might expect to find a prominent place for the congressional resolution to establish Mother's Day. Yet the first Mother's Day legislation was actually hooted down.

Mother's Day was the brainchild of Anna Jarvis, a Philadelphia woman stricken with grief over the death of her saintly mother in May 1905. Two years later, Miss Jarvis organized memorial services for her mother. Then, in one of those mad boundless leaps taken only by the most creative holiday entrepreneurs, Anna Jarvis went national. She decided that henceforth, on the anniversary of her mother's death, *all* Americans ought to honor the women who gave them birth.

In May 1908, freshman Senator Elmer Burkett (R-NE) put Miss Jarvis's proposal before his colleagues. It was not a Hallmark moment.

The senator explained that Mother's Day legislation was a special request of the Young Men's Christian Association, which, he noted, was doing valiant work in the "gathering together of the boys for social intercourse." (A theme later elaborated upon by the Village People in their timeless disco tribute.) Mother's Day, said Senator Burkett, would remind "boys from the country who are in the cities and among strangers" to think of "the old homes they left behind and the mothers who gave them birth."

Senator Burkett's mawkish but sincere discourse was met by a hail of mockery. The neophyte legislator was astonished by the ridicule heaped upon his innocent proposal. "I did not expect that a single objection would be offered," he averred; he was offended to hear "light made of it" by his gray colleagues.

Senator John Kean (R-NJ) immediately moved to amend Burkett's measure by striking everything after "Resolved" and substituting the Fifth Commandment: "Honor thy father and thy mother."

Senator Henry Moore Teller (D-CO) scorned the resolution as "puerile," "absolutely absurd," and "trifling." He announced, "Every day with me is a mother's day."

Senator Jacob Gallinger (R-NH) judged the very idea of Mother's Day to be an insult, as though his memory of his late mother "could only be kept green by some outward demonstration on Sunday, May 10."

"There are some thoughts that are so great and so sacred that they are belittled by movements of this character," lectured Senator Charles Fulton (R-OR), who went on to suggest the consecration of "Mother-in-Law Day."

Besides—and this objection may strike modern ears as especially bizarre—whether or not young men honored their mothers was *none of the federal government's business.*

"It is not a proper subject for legislation," declared Weldon Heyburn (R-ID). "The sentiment that exists between the parent and the child" is "too sacred to be made the subject of bandying words" and symbolic and un-Constitutional legislative resolutions.

By a margin of 33-14, the Senate contemptuously returned this first Mother's Day resolution to committee. But a few Constitutionalist pettifoggers were not going to stop Anna Jarvis. She enlisted the potent support of the World's Sunday School Association. By 1914, members of Congress were falling all over each other in praise of a federally sanctioned day of maternal homage. Mother's Day, celebrated on the second Sunday of May, was here to stay. (The logical companion to Mother's Day, Father's Day, took decades to catch on, despite assiduous propagandizing by the necktie industry.)

But a funny thing happened on the way to the florist. Anna Jarvis, the mother of Mother's Day, became its harshest critic.

Jarvis denounced the greeting-card and gift and candy manufacturers who battened on her day. In vain, she urged sons and daughters to stop buying flowers for mom; she called greeting cards "a poor excuse for the letter you are too lazy to write." The embittered Jarvis concluded that "charlatans, bandits, pirates, racketeers, kidnappers and other termites" had corrupted "with their greed one of the finest, noblest, truest Movements and celebrations known."

The spinster Jarvis, who never had children, died alone in a Pennsylvania nursing home. She had come to agree with those early Senate critics who derided the establishment of a national Mother's Day. Clergymen sympathetic to Jarvis urged that Americans shun the commercial interests and honor their mothers with a hand-picked dandelion and either a hug or a hand-written letter.

Sons and daughters are still free to take their advice.

—Bill Kauffman

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Why Elites Hate Sweet *Amélie*

Photo Courtesy Miramax Zoë

Audrey Tautou in Jean-Pierre Jeunet's *Amélie*.

Film critics with a highly political bent always run the risk of being out of touch. But they've looked especially ludicrous denouncing the popular recent movie import *Amélie*. The highest-grossing French movie in North American history, and the favorite to win as Best Foreign Language Film at the upcoming Academy Awards, *Amélie* has become a punching bag for the sort of politicized, elitist critics who could ascribe a Marxist subtext to the most innocuous Disney cartoon.

The fuss they've created seems silly once you've watched the movie in question. A whimsical modern parable about a shy Parisian waitress (Audrey Tautou) who finds happiness by performing anonymous acts of kindness for her neighbors, *Amélie* is about as political as a nursery rhyme. If the movie is "about" anything, it's an ode to appreciating life's little pleasures, a notion that's reinforced each time director Jean-Pierre Jeunet introduces a character by sharing his or her "likes" (Amélie herself likes "cracking crème brulée with a teaspoon").

In reality, *Amélie* is an invigorating pleasure. Aside from Tautou's spirited performance, the bold colors and impulsive edits that define Jeunet's directing style bring an eye-popping sense of optimism to the screen. It's a feel-good movie all right, but one in which the good feelings are earned, not manipulated by cheap sentiment. Heaven forbid a film should want us to feel good; apparently that's yet another pleasure that zealous political correctness would seek to deny everyday people.

What could possibly be stirring up the P.C. crowd? According to some left-wing critics, thousands of moviegoers are blind to the movie's reactionary racism—evidenced by the fact that *Amélie* takes place in a stylized, picturesque Paris with clean streets and primarily white characters. Writing in *Film Comment*, French critic Frederic Bonnaud describes such a milieu as a "retro postcard version of France, undeniably cleansed of all cultural diversity and, by extension, all immigrants." Never mind that the filmmakers aren't trying to create a realistic piece of *cinema verité*. Bonnaud seems to think that even movie fantasies should be subject to affirmative action.

Taking a cue from their French counterparts, highbrow American critics were laying in wait for *Amélie* when it hit these shores. The *Chicago Reader* compared the movie's supposed "revisionism" to *Forrest Gump*, another popular favorite that's been sniffed at as secretly reactionary by the critical elite. "The ease with which the perky, big-eyed heroine ingeniously succeeds in improving the lot of everyone around her, and the painterly manner in which reality in every inch of the frame is 'improved' constitute both the 'quirky' charm and the pure fishiness of the film," writes reviewer Ronnie Scheib. If the heroine had instead been a homeless African immigrant who's too miserable to do anyone any favors, Scheib would undoubtedly have been happier.

There's a bias here against the tastes of the general public that is deeply uncinematic (as well as undemocratic). Movies have always been an art form of the people and for the people—they're meant for mass audiences. Sometimes those audiences will grant a coarse, common-denominator film huge box office rewards; but there are also many times when a good movie will strike a massive chord with broad common tastes.

For all their talk of inclusion, *Amélie*'s critics aren't really interested in common sense and broad tastes—especially when they involve common people. (Bonnaud admits as much in his *Film Comment* piece when he says he saw *Amélie* long after its initial release due to "total indifference to the film's box-office success.") There's nothing more threatening to an intellectual critic than a good movie that mass audiences don't need explained to them.

For all of its own faults, the Academy Awards process can provide a middle ground between the snobbery of politicized critics and the hurly-burly of pop entertainment. The Oscars have always been a mishmash of highbrow tastes and public appeal; the ideal Best Picture candidate is an epic with both glowing reviews and a big box office. Hollywood loves to have it both ways.

For *Amélie*, this means that thousands of tickets sold, and generous reviews from the mainstream press, virtually guarantee a gold statue. But for P.C. elitists, the professionally alienated, and critics who hold politics above art, this gentle and kindly tale is just something else to be derided.

—Josh Larsen

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BookTalk

TAKING SOLZHENITSYN SERIOUSLY

By Edward E. Ericson, Jr.

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn: The Ascent From Ideology
By Daniel J. Mahoney
Rowman & Littlefield, 200 pages, $21.95

The Soviet Union has vanished from the map, the Cold War has ended, and communism lies discredited. Yet the West has unfinished business with Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. Experts do not deny that Solzhenitsyn had a hand in effecting one of history's great watershed moments, but they generally acknowledge his role only grudgingly. Why? Because Western liberals, after initially lionizing Solzhenitsyn, later settled into an ideologically driven consensus that he is an alien figure with retrograde views, beginning with his religious commitment.

Ironically, the fall of communism gave Solzhenitsyn's detractors a new reason to dismiss him: He is, in one critic's words, "yesterday's man." The truth is, even if Solzhenitsyn's relevance were limited to the Soviet context he would deserve a permanent place in history books as our era's greatest example of the adage that "the pen is mightier than the sword." But even that honorific treats the writer solely in political terms and ignores his wider insights on perennial moral issues.

Enter Daniel Mahoney, a prolific, prize-winning political scientist who challenges the common wisdom: "Solzhenitsyn is rarely given credit for his monumental contribution to the cause of human liberty in our time. In fact, there has been no more successful effort to discredit a great writer and thinker than that carried out against Solzhenitsyn over the past 25 years." Mahoney's book restores the Russian writer to the relevance he had before Western critics turned away from him. Beyond that, it advances the field of Solzhenitsyn criticism by a quantum leap. The introduction is called "Taking Solzhenitsyn Seriously," and Mahoney's mastery of Solzhenitsyn's texts is encyclopedic.

One of Mahoney's best contributions is his documentation of Solzhenitsyn as a man of decidedly moderate politics, instead of offering the "anti-democratic extremist" caricature. In another surprise, Mahoney shows how Solzhenitsyn is both deeply in love with Russia and also steeped in the West's political and philosophical traditions. A "careful student of political history and political institutions," Solzhenitsyn favors strong grassroots democracy, a market economy, land reform, and environmentalism. He praises the West for its "rule of law," post-Soviet Russia's most conspicuous deficiency. As Mahoney fleshes out the portrait, Solzhenitsyn emerges as "a teacher of moderation, a chronicler of modern faith in progress gone awry, an anti-ideologue par excellence." He is "an elegant and moving writer and a penetrating guide to the political and spiritual dislocations of our time"; "a spirited Christian who combines immense personal courage and authoritative moral witness with measured patriotism and a profound sense of natural and divine limits."

What Solzhenitsyn opposes most strenuously in modern politics is ideology. Herein lies the key to reading *The Gulag Archipelago*. Despite its reputation as an unbearably depressing catalog of horrors, it is "fundamentally a work directed against the ideological lie" and "only secondarily an assault on repression, dictatorship, or even cruelty per se."

Solzhenitsyn's claim that ideology is at the root of the Soviet tragedy has gained ground in the last decade. *The Black Book of Communism* documents the evil committed in the name of leftist politics. Mahoney describes this book as "unthinkable without Solzhenitsyn." Mahoney may overstate his case when he says that after Solzhenitsyn "the utopian or ideological impulse...will never be credible again." But he rightly emphasizes that "the permanent 'revolutionary' or 'utopian' or 'ideological' propensities of the modern mind" give Solzhenitsyn's attack on ideology "undiminished relevance."

In some chapters Mahoney practices the lost art of close reading. He draws from Solzhenitsyn's speeches and writing the author's alternative to modern liberalism. He explains Solzhenitsyn's "Tocquevillian" defense of the primacy of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

local self-government. He examines the moderate politics of Solzhenitsyn's hero, Russian Prime Minister Pyotr Stolypin, whose assassination removed the best bulwark against the Bolshevik takeover.

Throughout, Mahoney pays due regard to Solzhenitsyn's "commonsensical, classical Christian view of man and the world." According to Mahoney, "His anthropological conclusions have led him to the truth of Christianity and not the other way around." Mahoney describes Solzhenitsyn's moral vision as "decidedly...experiential in character" and "rather muted" in specific sectarian content. But this may underplay the importance of Solzhenitsyn's rearing in Russian Orthodoxy, to which his prison experience drove him back.

Mahoney's Solzhenitsyn is not faultless. Solzhenitsyn is too "Green," too ready to accept "the Malthusian calculations of ecologists"—a criticism which, Solzhenitsyn recently said, he hears even from his sons. Also, Mahoney finds Solzhenitsyn's rejection of political parties "unrealistic," though Solzhenitsyn shares this "somewhat romantic predilection" with America's Founding Fathers.

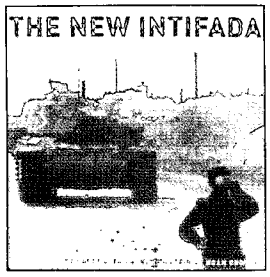
Mahoney has written *the* book about the politics of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. Next, Solzhenitsyn's literary art needs much more attention than it has received to date, and there lies work for many hands. Since his art inextricably intertwines literature, history, and politics, all future critics will need to take Daniel Mahoney into account.

TAE *contributing writer Edward Ericson's abridgment of* The Gulag Archipelago *will be republished in 2002.*

BLAMING THE VICTIM

By Jamie Glazov

The New Intifada: Resisting Israel's Apartheid
Edited by Roane Carey
Verso, 320 pages, $20



The New Intifada is a collection of articles, written mainly by journalists and activists, blaming Israel and the United States for every possible problem in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Edited by Roane Carey, copy chief at *The Nation*, with an introduction by left-wing icon Noam Chomsky, *The New Intifada* addresses the current outbreak of violence, which began in September 2000.

The essayists blame Israel and the United States for the shattered Oslo peace accords. Edward Said critiques "apartheid," which he claims is what Israel enforces in the Palestinian territories. Ali Abunimah and Hussein Ibish condemn the alleged pro-Israel bias of U.S. media. Other chapters denounce the alleged racism inherent in the Israeli regime.

The collection highlights the injustice and pain the Palestinian people have suffered. This suffering must be recognized. But the torment of the Palestinians is not necessarily the fault of Israelis.

Israel has made repeated efforts to improve the autonomy and prosperity of Palestinians, but the likes of Yasser Arafat, leader of the Palestinian Authority, have consistently stifled those efforts. Arafat, like other Arab leaders, has detected a priceless advantage in the shedding of Palestinian blood: Such suffering can be exploited as propaganda to justify war against Israel. The "Palestinian problem" has always been far more useful to Arafat than its potential solution will ever be. That explains why the Palestinian leader has consistently provided sanctuary and support to terrorists—and given his personal endorsement to suicide bombings.

While the documentation in *The New Intifada* emphasizes the violence inflicted by Israel on the Palestinians, it mysteriously fails to mention that this violence is an action of self-defense by Israel against an enemy seeking its annihilation. The writers portray Israeli measures for self-preservation as acts perpetrated for malicious and sinister reasons. Palestinian terrorism is seen solely as the product of a powerless population fighting evil colonialism. But the question remains: Would Israel engage in any violence at all if there were no Intifada, no suicide bombings, no anti-Semitism, and an overall Palestinian and Arab acceptance of a Jewish existence in the Holy Land?

It is no surprise that Noam Chomsky wrote the introduction for this collection. Having just sided with the Taliban and al-Qaeda, the guru of anti-American and anti-Israeli hate fittingly represents the mindset of the radical Left. David Horowitz notes that, "For Chomsky no evil, however great, can exceed that of America, and America is also the cause of evil in others." *The New Intifada* treats the Israeli-Palestinian problem in this very tradition. No matter how inhumane and ruthless the terror against Israel, the position of these authors remains: Israelis are responsible for their own victimization. If there is evil out there, it has been caused by Israelis and Americans.

None of the writers in *The New Intifada* makes any moral distinction between Israelis engaging in violent self-defense and Arab suicide bombers detonating themselves in Israeli shopping malls for the glory of killing innocent Jewish men, women, and children. None examines why the Palestinian Authority has published an Arabic translation of *Mein Kampf*, a popular seller among Palestinians. In the introduction, translator Luis Al-Haj glorifies Adolf Hitler.

More Israelis have died from terrorism since the signing of the 1993 Oslo accord that established the Palestinian Authority than in the four decades before it. There have been countless attacks and more than 80 suicide bombings against Israel since the "peace process" began. Before Oslo, suicide bombings were almost non-existent.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

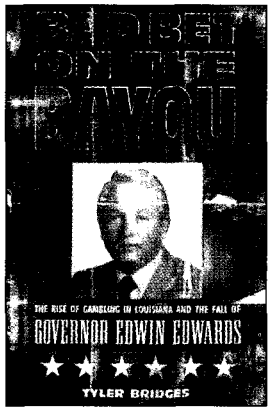
Predictably, *The New Intifada* condemns Israel for blocking true peace in the Middle East. Such accusations ring hollow, of course. No collection of essays on this subject has credibility if it ignores the right of a country to protect itself from those who seek its extermination.

Jamie Glazov was born in the USSR and now lives in Canada.

THE BIG SLEAZY

By Clark Stooksbury

Bad Bet on the Bayou: The Rise of Gambling in Louisiana and the Fall of Governor Edwin Edwards
By Tyler Bridges
Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 480 pages, $27



What do you get when you take a state with a notoriously corrupt political tradition and combine it with an industry that reeks of organized crime, all presided over by a governor who today would be described as "Clintonesque"? You get Louisiana's ill-fated flirtation with legalized gambling in the 1990s.

Louisiana's oil-centered economy went through a crisis in the 1980s when petroleum prices collapsed. The backdrop for the state's dilemma, Walker Percy wrote, could be "summarized by that dubious expression, *laissez le bon temps rouler* (let the good times roll), which can be read as referring to the genuine joy of Louisiana life. But it also translates into that old Louisiana penchant for voting for flamboyant types, upcountry good ol' boys and Cajun slickers who are long on show biz and short on ethics. As long as the party lasted, the oil flowed, and the good times rolled, it didn't seem to matter. Well folks, the party's over. The *bon temps* have just about *roulered* out."

Writing in 1985, Percy foreshadows the events described in *Bad Bet on the Bayou*. Tyler Bridges examines the story of Louisiana gambling going back to antebellum days when poker and craps found their way into the United States via riverboat gamblers in New Orleans. Later in the nineteenth century, Louisiana had a state lottery that collapsed in scandal. That lottery, which began during Reconstruction, was reauthorized by the state after a massive bribery campaign in the 1880s, only to be eventually outlawed by the federal government.

Fast-forward to the 1991 gubernatorial election. In that race, unpopular incumbent Buddy Roemer faced Edwin Edwards and former KKK wizard David Duke. Both Edwards and Duke finished ahead of Roemer in the primary, then faced each other in the general election. Edwards' checkered reputation—he had been indicted, but not convicted, during his third term as governor in a previous decade—made the choice difficult. A victory by the controversial former Klansman might have been disastrous for the Pelican State, though, and toward the end of the campaign Edwards won support from Roemer backers by promising not to push for a big New Orleans casino.

If only he had kept that promise. The heart of Bridges' narrative concerns the process of legalizing gambling and licensing casinos. The handling of one minor issue illustrates how things are done in Louisiana. The state's 1974 constitution (one of Governor Edwards' proudest accomplishments) required the legislature to "define and suppress" gambling. So the legislature cleverly decided to legalize "gaming" instead of gambling.

Other than the fancy verbal footwork used to dance around the constitution, the most troublesome aspect of the process was the way the state chose proprietors for the New Orleans Casino. The New Orleans mayor decided who got to lease the property, while a board appointed by Governor Edwards awarded the operating license. Naturally, the mayor and the board chose different parties.

Mayor Sidney Barthelemy awarded the lease to California native Christopher Hemmeter, a developer proposing several different schemes for mammoth casinos with "fake plantation houses" and a "soaring 100-foot rotunda, classical columns, and two grand halls that...would rival Versailles's Hall of Mirrors." Hemmeter's grand plans and outsider status led one New Orleans commentator to dismiss his ideas as "Disneyland crap."

The state board awarded the operating license to Harrah's Jazz, a partnership of some New Orleans businessmen and the Memphis-based casino company owned by Holiday Inn. Hemmeter clashed with the operators over plans for the establishment. Construction was delayed repeatedly, and the casino never lived up to expectations. Eventually, a web of corruption became an even bigger story than the lack of financial success at the casino. Governor Edwards and San Francisco 49ers owner Eddie DeBartolo, Jr. (who gave the governor a suitcase full of cash for a riverboat casino license) were among those trapped.

The lesson of *Bad Bet on the Bayou*, for those willing to wade through the swamp of detail presented by the author, is that there is no magic bullet that will guarantee prosperity for a city or a state. Numerous politicians claimed that legalized gambling would save Louisiana after the oil collapse of the 1980s. They were wrong. What New Orleans and the rest of Louisiana need most in order to prosper is a new political climate—one where the costs of doing business don't include suitcases of cash for state officials.

Clark Stooksbury writes from Knoxville, Tennessee.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Robert Duvall's Next Little Gems

AP Photo/Jill Connelly

The success of Robert Duvall's 1998 film *The Apostle* surprised many in the big Hollywood studios who never would have bet on a project about a Pentacostal evangelist whose sermons bring about powerful religious conversions. Now Duvall and his producing partner Rob Carliner are trying to navigate two more unconventional movies through the studio roadblocks. If they're successful, a couple of projects that have been close to the 71-year-old Oscar winner's heart for years will finally see the light of day.

It's been almost three years since Duvall set off to Kilnockie, Scotland with director Michael Corrente and a paltry budget of $9 million to film *A Shot at Glory*. Duvall plays soccer coach Gordon McLeod, whose second-tier team is in the midst of a make-or-break season. Some who've seen early cuts report that the picture comes off like a cross between *Rocky* and *Any Given Sunday.* But despite a promising debut at the Toronto Film Festival in 2001 and good press in Scotland, the U.S. release of the picture is stalled because of trouble financing the exorbitant cost of making thousands of prints and shipping them to theaters. (This kind of logistical hurdle can obstruct even stars with Duvall's clout if they don't have a conglomerate behind them.)

The plot centers on whether Duvall's character, a staunch Catholic, will ever put aside his resentment toward his daughter for marrying outside her faith. It soon becomes clear that the coach needs the skills of his soccer champion son-in-law on the field. If there's a losing season, the team's American owner (played by Michael Keaton) will shutter the franchise.

In addition to using experienced players in the cast (former soccer star Ally McCoist plays the son-in-law), director Corrente enlisted cameramen who had worked World Cup tournaments to photograph the plays in *A Shot at Glory*. "So often with athletic films, you don't see the athletics done right," said Duvall in an interview. "With the real players it was wonderful."

But the film into which, as Duvall told *TAE,* he has poured his biggest emotional investment, is a drama called *Assassination Tango*, made on a total budget less than half of what stars like Tom Cruise charge for their services alone. To help recruit financiers, Duvall teamed up with Francis Ford Coppola, progenitor of *The Godfather* and *Apocalypse Now*. As with *The Apostle,* Duvall wrote and directed *Assassination Tango* himself.

The plot revolves around a hit man, played by Duvall, who follows an assignment to Buenos Aires only to find himself seduced by tango dancing when he should be working. Duvall says he wanted to explore the connection between Manhattan, Argentina, and the underworld, finding common threads. "One of the great dancers once said that to be a good tango dancer, one had to be a thief, pimp, bookie, or some other kind of criminal," he says. "That's not really the case, but I do know some underground guys in New York who are great dancers but never went to dance class."

Duvall is quite an accomplished tango dancer in real life himself. For this film he enlisted the aid of choreographer Miguel Angel Zotto and Argentinean Luciana Pedrazza to make sure the dance sequences pass muster with the experts.

Between stints in Scotland and Argentina cutting his little gems, Duvall pays his bills with supporting roles in big pictures. This winter, his face was next to Denzel Washington's on giant billboards advertising *John Q.* In films such as 2001's *Gone in 60 Seconds,* Duvall's cameo often ends up being the one bright spot on screen. "Arnold Schwarzenegger is a great guy to work for," is all Duvall will say about his part in last year's disappointing *The 6th Day.*

In December, he completed *Gods and Generals*, a Civil War film based on Jeff Shaara's novel about Bull Run and Chancellorsville. Duvall plays Robert E. Lee in the Warner Bros. production to be released late in 2002.

Between his numerous personal projects and his residence in rural Virginia, Robert Duvall is unique for Hollywood. He goes against the grain of the industry, yet has been nominated for an Academy Award five times, and won once (a Best Actor statue for *Tender Mercies*). What's most encouraging is that the man who has played everyone from Joseph Stalin to Dwight Eisenhower is now using his leverage to create sparkling film treasures that few living near Sunset Boulevard would even dream of.

—John Meroney

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Edited by Martin Morse Wooster

the Digest

Summaries of important new research from the nation's universities, think tanks, and investigative publications

ECONOMICS AND BUSINESS

Who Should Set Standards?

James Surowiecki, "Turn of the Century," in *Wired* (January 2002), 520 Third Street, San Francisco, California 94107

According to the National Institute of Standards and Technology, there are about 800,000 industrial standards in the world. Without these standards, you wouldn't be sure that you could hear a new CD, or that a new telephone would plug into your wall jack.

But who should set the standards—government or industry? James Surowiecki, who writes *The New Yorker's* Financial Page column, shows why the private sector is superior.

The creator of the industrial standard was William Sellers, a manufacturer of screws. In April 1864, he argued that businesses ought to rely on a screw based on his design.

Sellers faced ferocious opposition. Machinists prided themselves on building hand-crafted tools that could not be duplicated. The British, moreover, had a competing standard. But in 1868, Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles hired investigators who found that many big businesses (Baldwin locomotives, Singer sewing machines) were already using the Sellers screw. Welles declared that the Sellers model would be used in all future naval orders. When the Pennsylvania Railroad said in 1869 that it would adopt the Sellers screw, the device became the first national standard.

The Sellers story, notes Surowiecki, has important lessons. Government did not impose standards, but followed the advice of industry. Surowiecki finds a modern parallel with the mobile phone industry. When the cell phone market became competitive in 1993, AT&T and the Baby Bells tried to impose the analog TDMA phone standard; but Qualcomm's CDMA digital standard produced a more reliable phone.

While government-imposed standards are inflexible and bureaucratic, standards agreed upon by industry tend to be dynamic, flexible, and continuously improved. "The market may seem messy," Surowiecki writes, "but it's much better in dealing with a situation of permanent revolution than official standards organizations are."

Clear as Milk

Kenneth Bailey, "America's Dairy Dilemma," in *Regulation* (Winter 2001), 1000 Massachusetts Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001

Penn State University professor Kenneth Bailey looks closely at one of the most regulated products in America: milk.

In the 1930s, Washington set a series of "milk marketing orders" which gave the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) the power to set national milk prices. Each month, USDA officials calculate the prices for the four grades of milk: Class I (whole milk), Class II (ice cream, yogurt, cottage cheese), Class III (hard cheese), and Class IV (butter, powdered milk). Class I milk, as the highest grade, gets the highest price; low-grade Class IV milk is the cheapest.

In January 2000, the government simplified milk regulation: Instead of equal subsidies for all farmers, the USDA now gives more to farmers who produce high-grade milk and less to those who produce cheaper grades. As a result, prices for Classes II-IV milk are now set by the market.

The USDA calculates that in 2000, half of America's milk was produced in just 58 counties, where favorable natural conditions plus investments in technology and infrastructure have led to dramatic increases in productivity. The cool and energetic cows living in Washington state, for instance, produced, on average, 22,667 pounds of milk in 2000; hotter and lazier Louisiana cows produced an average of only 12,155 pounds. Thus if milk prices were deregulated, efficient Northern farmers would sell more, and Southern consumers would pay slightly higher prices.

Congress has been debating multistate dairy compacts that would establish higher minimum prices for Class I milk. But these compacts would reward farmers who live in some states only by punishing those in other places. Bailey believes a better approach is that of Senators Rick Santorum (R-PA) and Herbert Kohl (D-WI), which would increase price supports when milk prices fall and cut them when they rise. The Santorum-Kohl bill would also limit subsidies to the first 2.6 million pounds of milk production, which would provide proportionately more money for small farmers.

Whatever reform Congress adopts,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bailey warns that small farms will continue to be consolidated into bigger ones. "Government can only slow the exit rate of small farms, not stop it," he concludes.

Free Trade Is Its Own Reward

Jagdish Bhagwati, *Free Trade Today*, Princeton University Press, 41 William Street, Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Nearly every economist knows that free trade is more likely to create prosperity than is protectionism. Yet free trade is threatened today by a variety of opponents, including unions, Greens, and anti-globalization activists. In this book, Columbia University economist Jagdish Bhagwati analyzes the arguments of foes of free trade, and finds them fallacious:

• *Free trade harms the environment.* Environmentalists claim that impoverished countries relax their environmental standards to entice multinational corporations to move plants to the Third World. But while countries offer corporations preferential tax treatments all the time, there is no evidence that any country has altered its environmental laws to attract international enterprises. "Few governments," Bhagwati writes, "are likely to say to multinationals: Come and make profits by polluting our water and air."

• *Free trade depresses wages.* Unions argue that under a free trade regime, corporations will move their plants to lower-wage countries, ensuring that union members are worse off than before. But what actually happens under free trade is that while some unskilled jobs migrate toward the Third World, they are replaced by better-paying high-skilled jobs in export industries. In the 1980s, for example, many textile plants in the Carolinas moved to Latin America or Asia, but German high-tech companies (such as Siemens and BMW), moved in instead. The result: North Carolina has so many German factories that the local stretch of Interstate 95 is nicknamed "the Autobahn," and well-paid Carolina workers "are now rooting for globalization, for investment, and for trade in the global economy."

• *Preferential trade is better than free trade.* In the 1990s, the world was criss-crossed by a bewildering array of preferential trade agreements or PTAs. African countries, for example, shared trade incentives with fellow members of: the Cross Border Initiative, the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa, the Commission for East African Co-operation, the Southern African Development Community, and the Southern African Customs Union.

But PTAs leave high tariff walls against imports from countries which are not members. Far from advancing free trade, PTAs often do little more than provide bureaucrats with plum treatment. Moreover, as South African Trade Minister Alec Erwin argues, "the poorer countries are least able to manage a trading system riddled by complex preferences and rules of origin." The end result of PTAs is thus to make poor countries worse off than they were without trade agreements.

Far better, Bhagwati argues, for countries simply to eliminate trade barriers on their own, in the hopes that other countries will then lower their trade walls.

These unilateral measures will bring their own benefits from increased trade. Bhagwati urges politicians to follow the advice of the British economist Joan Robinson, who once argued that "if others throw rocks into their harbor, there is no reason to throw rocks into your own."

SOCIETY

Damned If You Do…

G. E. Zuriff, "Inventing Racism," in *The Public Interest* (Winter 2002), 1112 16th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

Survey researchers over the past two decades have noted a dramatic decline in overt racism in America. Polls show that segregationist sentiments have vanished and that most Americans support racial equality and oppose discrimination. There's a different story, however, on college campuses, where professors argue that racism is rife. Wheaton College psychologist G. E. Zuriff contends that professors make this argument only by dramatically changing the meaning of "racism."

In 1981, UCLA researchers David Sears, John McConahay, and David Kinder argued that nearly all white Americans grow up racists but learn to deeply suppress it.

Preferring a white candidate to a black one, or opposing welfare and affirmative action for any reason at all, is evidence of "modern racism." In a 1999 Russell Sage Foundation study, for example, Sears and his associates contended that people who answered "yes" to such questions as "Should blacks work their way up without special favors?" were "modern racists."

Even if you're a white who deliberately gives advantages to blacks over whites, argue psychologists John Dovidio and Samuel Gaertner, you suffer from "aversive racism." Aversive racists would vote for black candidates over white ones and favor hiring a black over a white for a job opening. These definitions, Zuriff writes, "guarantee that no white person can ever be…free of racism."

Trial Lawyer Tests

Siobhan Gorman, "Can't Beat 'em? Sue 'em!" in *The Washington Monthly* (December 2001), 731 15th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005

The new federal education bill creating national testing has attracted support from many constituencies. Among them, observes *National Journal* reporter Siobhan Gorman, are trial lawyers—because the tests "are likely to provide...evidence they need to sue states ...to release the flood of new money for urban schools for which liberals have long thirsted."

In the 1960s, liberal lawyers claimed that the federal government, to ensure

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that all children received an equal education, had to mandate equal spending in every school district. In the *Rodriguez* decision of 1973, the Supreme Court rejected that argument.

The trial lawyers then pushed their argument in the states, winning in California, New Jersey, Arkansas, Connecticut, and elsewhere. But some states, notably California, responded to equal-spending requirements by slashing funds in rich districts. And when evidence rose that children in inner cities were doing as badly as ever, trial lawyers started losing suits.

When states began to mandate testing, though, lawyers acquired evidence that students in low-income districts were doing worse than those in high-income ones. In 1993, Samuel Rebell sued New York State, arguing that lower test scores proved that New York City school districts needed more money.

In January 2001, a state court agreed, stating that the test score differential showed New York City students were not receiving "a minimally adequate education." If Rebell wins on appeal, New York will be forced to raise its state education budget from $13 billion to $16 billion.

Enjoying similar victories in New Jersey, Ohio, and Wyoming, trial lawyers see the new national tests as providing "high-quality, nationally-comparable test scores" which could be powerful tools for demanding more cash for poor districts.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Medicine and the Races

Sally Satel, "Medicine's Race Problem," in *Policy Review* (December 2001), 818 Connecticut Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006

Among other announcements made at the June 2000 White House press conference unveiling the first map of the human genome was the discovery that 99.9 percent of the genes of blacks and whites are the same. This led many commentators to argue that the discovery meant that there was no difference between the races.

However, the 0.1 percent genetic difference between the races covers a substantial number of genes, ensuring that blacks and whites react quite differently to many medical treatments. American Enterprise Institute fellow Sally Satel contends that these genetic differences are important—and ought to be taken into account in medical research.

In about 2 percent of diseases, a single gene can ensure the difference between health and illness. There are also numerous cases in which different races react to diseases differently. A given dose of pain-reducing narcotics, for example, affects Asians more than other races. African-American women are more likely to contract and die from breast cancer, and to develop larger cancerous tumors, than women of other races.

Some critics argue that acknowledging small, persistent genetic differences between the races is a small step away from arguing that some races should get different—and perhaps inferior—treatment when they go to the doctor. But Satel counters that acknowledging genetic differences will produce better treatments that help everyone.

OTHER COUNTRIES

Trouble in Cyprus

Henri Barkey and Philip Gordon, "Cyprus: The Predictable Crisis," in *The National Interest* (Winter 2001), 1615 L Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

This December, the European Union is expected to offer membership, beginning in 2004, to the Greek-controlled part of divided Cyprus. Lehigh University professor Henri Barkey and Brookings fellow Philip Gordon warn that such a move could spark a crisis.

Cyprus has been divided since 1974, when Turkey responded to a coup by invading the northern part of the island. In 1983, the Turkish Cypriots declared that they were the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus," a "nation" only recognized by Turkey. Since then, Turkish forces have continued to occupy the North, even though the occupation drains the Turkish treasury.

Relations between Turkey and Greece have been strained for decades; the two countries nearly went to war in 1996 over ownership of the disputed Imia and Kardak islands. Other sources of conflict in recent years include Cyprus's purchase of surplus Russian air defense systems and Greece's support for Kurdish separatist Abdullah Öcalan. But under the leadership of prime minister Costas Simitis, Greece has reduced its saber-rattling; trade between the two nations now approaches $1 billion a year; they also helped each other out after a recent earthquake.

But allowing Cyprus to join the European Union while the island remains divided could prompt drastic action on Turkey's part, including formal annexation of northern Cyprus or sending additional Turkish divisions to the island. Such moves could end any chance Turkey has of joining the Union—and could further destabilize the already troubled Turkish economy.

Turkey is an important U.S. military partner. The U.S., Barkey and Gordon think, should try to negotiate a settlement producing a united Cyprus with protections for the Turkish minority. The U.S. should also try to reduce the military presence on Cyprus, and persuade Greek Cypriots not to use their majority to denounce "the Turkish side for actions going back forty years." The goal, they conclude, is to have both Cyprus and Turkey as part of a united Europe.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Opinion Pulse

Edited by Karlyn Bowman

Racial Progress

People of all races overestimate the size of the black, Hispanic, and Asian populations in the United States. Whites, Hispanics, and Asians say that they are satisfied with their household income. Although blacks and Hispanics lag behind whites and Asians in household income, all groups gained ground during the 1990s.

Question: Now I'd like to ask you how the nation's population is divided among white Americans, African Americans, Hispanic Americans and Asian Americans. Just your best guess...?

Estimates of the size of various groups in the population by...

	White respondents	Black respondents	Hispanic respondents	Asian respondents
White	55%	60%	56%	54%
Black	29	37	33	26
Hispanic	23	28	35	25
Asian	15	21	22	17

Source: The *Washington Post*, Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, Harvard University, March-April 2001.

Population share

Actual:	
White	69%
Black	12
Hispanic	13
Asian	4

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Question: I'd like to ask you about some aspects of your life. Are you...?

Satisfied with my household income

White response	73%
Black	49
Hispanic	64
Asian	68

Source: Princeton Survey Research Associates for the National Conference for Community and Justice, January–March 2000.

Question: Is your...?

Total annual income from all sources is less than $40,000 a year

White response	41%
Black	68
Hispanic	65
Asian	40

Source: *The Washington Post*, Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, Harvard University, March–April 2001.

Household Income (constant $)

Actual:	1990	2000
White	$40,100	$44,226
Black	$23,979	$30,439
Hispanic	$28,671	$33,447
Asian	$49,369	$55,521

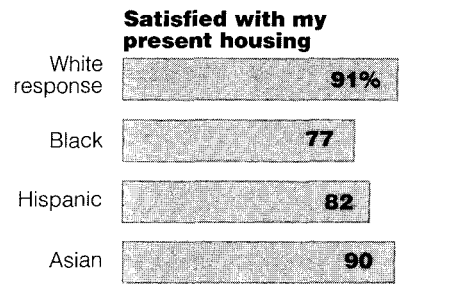
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Racial Progress (continued)

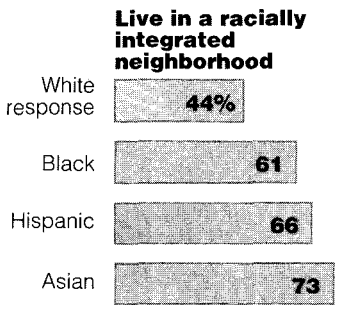
Majorities of whites, blacks, Hispanics, and Asians are satisfied with their housing, and home ownership rates are rising. Whites are less likely than people of other races to live in integrated neighborhoods. Whites and Asians are more satisfied with their education than blacks and Hispanics are. Growing majorities of all these groups have a high school education or more.

Question: I'd like to ask you about some aspects of your life. Are you...?



Source: Princeton Survey Research Associates for the National Conference for Community and Justice, January–March 2000.

Question: Do you...?



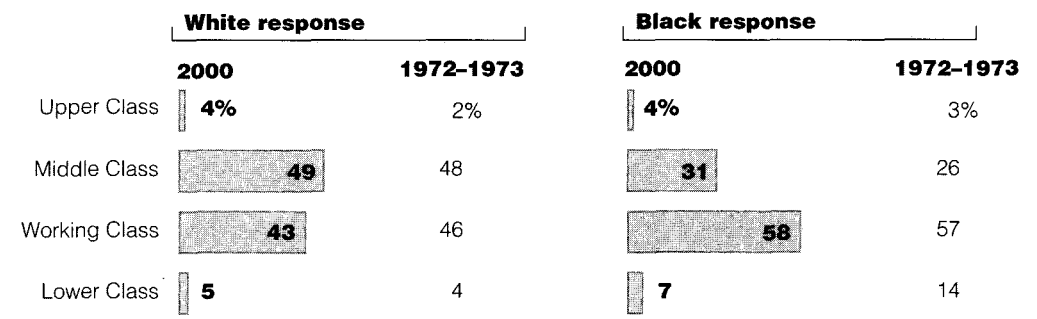
Source: The *Washington Post*, Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, Harvard University, March–April 2001.

Home Ownership

Actual:	1990	2000
White	69%	74%
Black	43	49
Hispanic	41	46
Asian	—	53

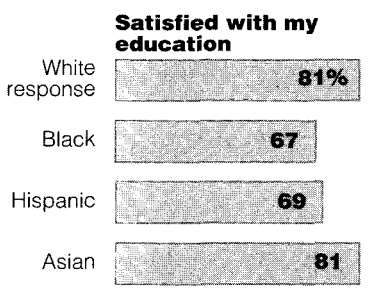
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Question: If you were asked to use one of these four names for your social class, which would you belong to...?



Source: National Opinion Research Center, 1972–1973 and 2000.
Note: A Gallup question asked in 2001 used five class categories and produced different results. Four percent of whites said they belonged in the lower class, 27% working class, 50% middle class, 16% upper-middle class, and 2% upper class. Nine percent of blacks in the Gallup survey said they belonged in the lower class, 35% working class, 45% middle class, 7% upper-middle class, and 3% upper class.

Question: I'd like to ask you about some aspects of your life. Are you...?



Note: In the survey, 36% of whites, 29% of blacks, 48% of Hispanics, and 49% of Asians were satisfied with the "education children are getting today."
Source: Princeton Survey Research Associates for the National Conference for Community and Justice, January–March 2000.

Have a H.S. education or more

Actual:	1990	2000
White	79%	88%
Black	66	79
Hispanic	51	57
Asian	—	86

Note: Data are for people 25 years and older.
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians are more optimistic than whites that their children will enjoy a higher standard of living than their own generation. Young blacks and Hispanics have higher levels of optimism than young whites that their lives will be better than those of their parents. Blacks are more optimistic than whites that their incomes and local schools will be better ten years from now. Whites are slightly more optimistic about race relations where they live. Solid majorities of all groups believe in the American Dream.

Question: When they grow up, do you expect ...?

	My children and children from families like mine will enjoy a higher standard of living than my generation	About the same	Lower
White response	46%	41%	11%
Black	61	25	11
Hispanic	60	29	8
Asian	60	35	4

Source: The *Washington Post*, Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, Harvard University, March-April 2001.

Question: I'm going to read some statements about how different people describe themselves. The statement "My life will be better than that of my parents" describes me...

14–24 year olds

	White response	Black and Hispanic response
Very well	38%	46%
Somewhat well	45	33
Not too well	8	9
Does not describe at all	8	11

Source: CBS News/MTV, November 2001.

Question: Looking ahead ten years from today, please tell me if you think each of the following will be better, the same, or worse ...

Ten years from now...

	My family income will be better	About the same	Worse
White response	59%	28%	8%
Black response	71	16	8

	Race relations where I live will be better	About the same	Worse
White response	47%	40	9
Black response	42	37	14

Source: Princeton Survey Research Associates for *Newsweek*, April 1999.

Question: Looking ahead ten years from today, please tell me if you think each of the following will be better, the same, or worse ...

	Ten years from now the quality of education in my local schools will be better	About the same	Worse
White response	55%	21%	15%
Black response	64	16	10

Source: Princeton Survey Research Associates for Newsweek, April 1999.

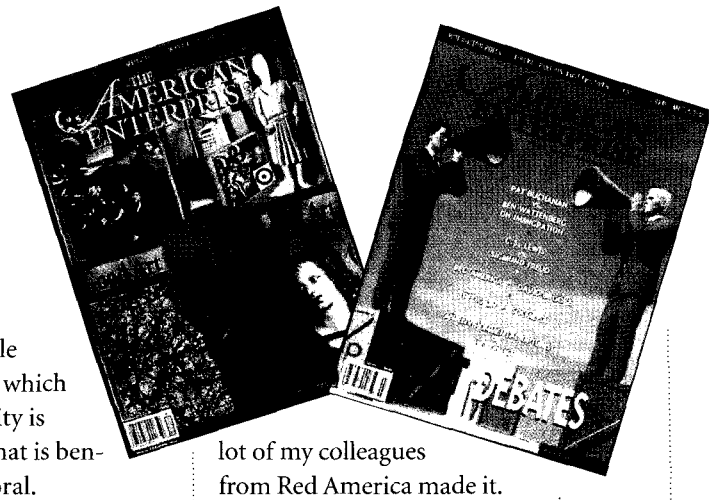
Question: I'd like to talk to you now about a term with which you probably are familiar—the American Dream. Do you ...?

	Believe in the American Dream
White	79%
Black	67
Hispanic	68
Asian	75

Source: The *Washington Post*, Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, Harvard University, August–September 1995.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Mail



Ben Wattenberg misstates several statistics and confuses several arguments that Pat Buchanan makes ("Immigration: a Cause of the Clash of Civilizations...Or a Solution To It?" March 2002). Among other things, he pooh-poohs Buchanan by noting that the same arguments were made in the early twentieth century and that nothing bad happened.

He fails to note that the reason nothing bad happened was because the nation took the naysayers' advice and, after the huge surge around the turn of the century, stopped immigration for some 45 years.

We then worked hard to assimilate the immigrants in ways we are no longer willing to, since we lack the will and intestinal fortitude to stand up for our own culture. Economies, cultures, and civil societies are fragile things; they must be treasured, protected, and championed with tenacity, confidence, and dedication. We must stop immigration until we again have the courage and commitment to assimilate our existing immigrant population. We need a timeout until we get our confidence back, or we risk losing everything.

Mike Patton
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

I just finished "C. S. Lewis vs. Sigmund Freud on Good and Evil" (March 2002). There truly are absolute moral and immoral behaviors. But if we lean too heavily on the existence of a supreme being to define right from wrong, we run the risk of non-believers recognizing no boundaries to their behavior. Let me suggest a more useable definition: Any behavior which is detrimental to humanity is immoral; any behavior that is beneficial to humanity is moral.

Stanley Gorcik
Buffalo Grove, Illinois

In regard to Blake Hurst's "The Plains vs. The Atlantic" (March 2002), you should know that there are plenty of Red America values in Blue America. I live in Queens, and people here are more conservative than popular perception has it. Outside of Manhattan, New Yorkers still know how to work on their own cars and houses. A few of us even go hunting.

Having served with people from Red America in the Marine Corps, I know the unassuming attitude of which Blake Hurst speaks. People like David Brooks who write articles about Middle America are afraid to walk into a poor neighborhood here and find out how religious the majority of the city really is. America is really all Red, so don't pay attention to the liberal elitists who think that their one percent of the population represents the soul of the country.

Ted Southard
Queens, New York

Some 30 years ago, I was enrolled in a nuclear power program in the Navy. The program involved six months of intensive academic courses in physics, nuclear theory, and mathematics. I went to a small high school in Red America and I failed along with graduates from some of the best universities in the country. But a lot of my colleagues from Red America made it. The nuclear-powered ships in the Navy were and still are operated by sailors from Red America as well as Blue America.

I feel secure knowing that boys from the provinces are on the job in large numbers. Blake Hurst is exactly right.

Neal Christensen
Pocatello, Idaho

Blake Hurst's piece is very interesting and perceptive. Blue America's snobbery toward the South in particular is both perplexing and obnoxious.

Much of what I love about America, and what convinced me to join it as a naturalized citizen, is upheld and manifested by those Americans in the counties colored Red.

Amanda Bernsen
Brenchley, Kent, England

I intend to make Blake Hurst's "The Plains vs. The Atlantic" required reading in my household.

Although I live in the high desert of southern California, my grandfather's roots in South Dakota and my father's insistence on hard work and doing one's best did far more to form my identity than the "California Dream" of Blue America.

Dean Spoelstra
Quartz Hill, California

The American Enterprise welcomes your comments. Send to "The Mail," The American Enterprise, 1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Or fax to (202) 862-5867. Or e-mail TAE@aei.org. Please include your address and phone number. Published letters may be edited for length and clarity.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Blake Hurst has written a wonderful, accurate article—with only one exception. Red Pennsylvanians do not call Arlen Specter a Republican. Blue Pennsylvanians in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh elected him and keep electing him.

Were it not for those of us who live in what we call the "T" of central and northern Pennsylvania, we would be stuck with two Specters in the Senate.

Sarah Brady
Williamsport, Pennsylvania

I have lived on both coasts, and in our largest cities, but whenever I meet someone who truly impresses me, both with real subject understanding and personal gravity, he is invariably from small-town Middle America. I know many children of privilege who live well on inherited wealth, benefit from superior education and connections, then indulge their hobbies as careers, but don't achieve much and don't contribute much.

This is an observation of Red America that endures because it is true.

Gregory Granello
Dallas, Texas

Kudos to Blake Hurst on his great piece. While I grew up within the city limits of Chicago, the neighborhood I lived in is nothing like the hoity-toity downtown. Our values are much more like those of Red America, and I'd like to think of our family as honorary Red Americans.

Ken Matuszak
Lindenhurst, Illinois

When I was young, about 60 years ago, even Washington, D.C. wasn't so different from the Missouri Blake Hurst describes. Now, the entire D.C. area is part of Blue America. In the beach community where I now live, on the other hand, the winters are Missouri-like but the summer residents make us very much a part of Blue America.

Margaret Schlosser
Bethany Beach, Delaware

I enjoyed Blake Hurst's views and generally concur. Though I do wonder why those sturdy farm folks have to take the city slickers' tax money as subsidies when they are so practical and self-reliant.

James K. Sweeney
Los Angeles, California

What an excellent piece by Blake Hurst! As someone who lives in "Blue America," I cheered him every step of the way.

Rashmi Munter
Long Beach, California

As one who was born in small-town Missouri (Carthage) and is now retired in small-town Virginia (Lynchburg) I have a deep appreciation for Mr. Hurst's well-reasoned defense of Red America.

A superb article, full of calculated humor and defensible logic.

Charles Kinney
Lynchburg, Virginia

I am a Yank living in London, and would like to tell Blake Hurst I was extremely heartened by his article.

It has been a long time since I've met people who include the words "No," "wrong," and "God" in their vocabulary. In Manhattan, Los Angeles, and London there always seems to be an excuse for bad behavior, even in churches.

If I had known that people like Mr. Hurst and towns like his existed I would have given these cities a miss.

Kate Powell
London, England

In my essay for *The Atlantic Monthly*, "One Nation, Slightly Divisible," I tried to gently remind coastal readers how little they knew about people in Red America, and how crude their stereotypes are of people in the heartland.

Then I spent the remaining 11,000 words of the piece trying to give a more accurate and admiring picture of what life is like in rural America.

In his piece taking me on, Blake Hurst writes as if I actually believe the stereotypes I was satirizing. Then he regurgitates many of the points I originally made to rebut the stereotype.

If there were a justice system for writers, Blake Hurst would be serving a long term for multiple felonies.

David Brooks
Bethesda, Maryland

From the editor:
And if there were environmental controls on writers, David Brooks might be fined for oozing superiority. We realize Brooks was practicing sarcasm in places, and enthusiastically acknowledge that there was much friendly and sage analysis in his story. Unfortunately he also dripped disdain in spite of himself, and annoyed would-be allies. The dozens of cheering letters we got, and the 30 more posted on the Wall Street Journal*'s Web site after it reproduced Hurst's story, demonstrate that many smart Americans welcomed Blake Hurst's response.*

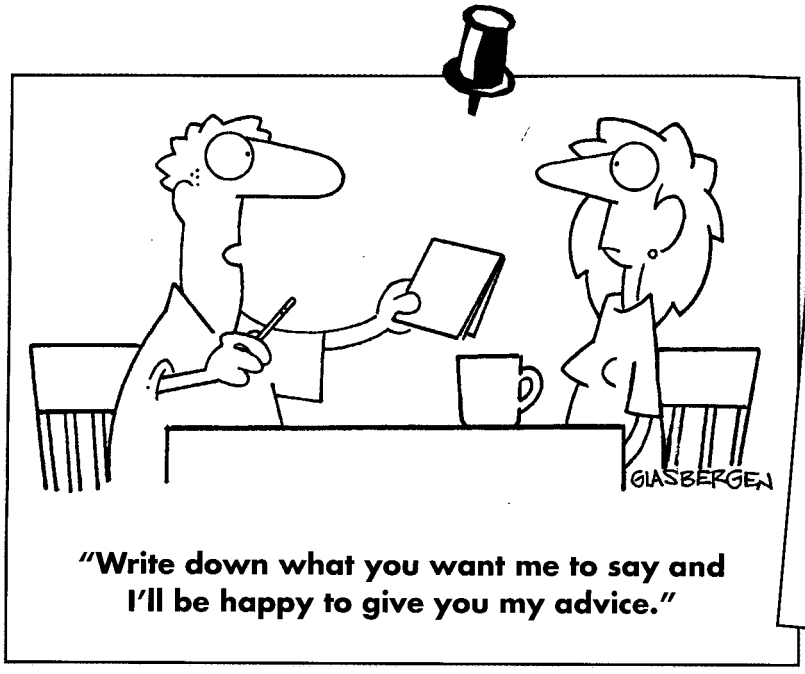
What these exchanges indicate most of all is the undesirability of having the vast, sensible middle of America interpreted only (when at all) by coastal elites. We are very proud to let middle America speak for itself in nearly every installment of TAE.

I have a proposal for President Bush. He should make use of the thousands of retired military officers in airport security. They are already drawing pension checks, and are subject to recall until age 64. He should bring them back and put them to work overseeing screening.

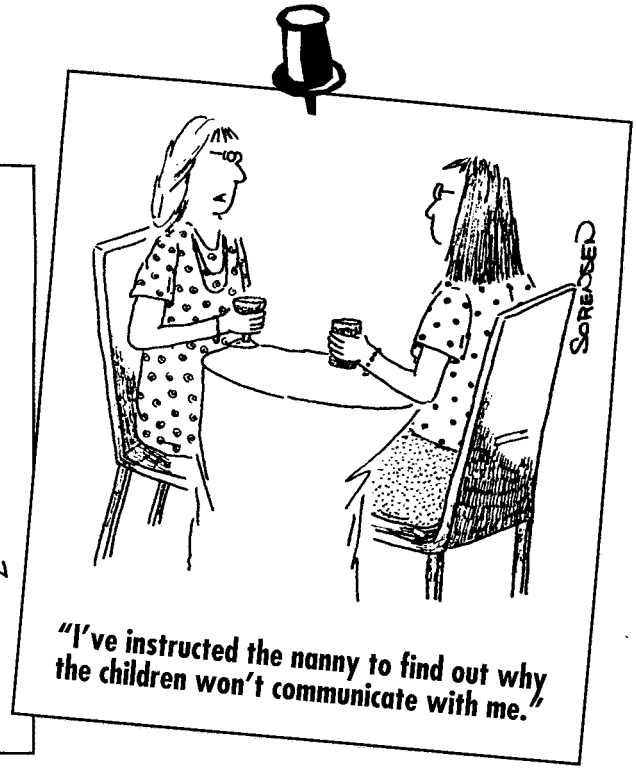
We would not have the airport security difficulties we now have if old master sergeants and lieutenant colonels were running the show. And the costs would be reduced by the amount of the retirees' retirement checks. I am one of those old guys and would be delighted to travel to Lambert Field in St. Louis and work a shift if my country needed me.

Peter Hixson
Washington, Missouri

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



"Write down what you want me to say and I'll be happy to give you my advice."



"I've instructed the nanny to find out why the children won't communicate with me."

"He's been in here all day just looking for trouble."

"Well I just feel the term 'insufficient funds' is unnecessarily judgmental."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WE HAVE THE SAME HEROES. TEACHERS WHO INSPIRE. WE LIVE WHERE YOU LIVE.™

Priscilla Zimmerman
Good Neighbor Teacher
Award® Winner

By transforming a chair into a sculpture that pays tribute to a particular artist, these students applied every aspect of art knowledge to a single project. And their teacher actually made learning fun. Which is why we're proud to present Priscilla Zimmerman with the Good Neighbor Teacher Award and make a donation of $10,000 to Foster High School in Tukwila, Washington.

LIKE A GOOD NEIGHBOR STATE FARM INSURANCE® STATE FARM IS THERE.™

State Farm Insurance Companies • Home Offices: Bloomington, Illinois

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED